DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 027 366   24   UD 007 878

By-Allen, Irving L.; And Others

The Effects of Community Structure on School Decisions: The Sources and Consequences of De Facto School Segregation in Five Connecticut Cities. Final Report.

Connecticut Univ., Storrs.

Spons Agency-Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Research.

Bureau No-BR-5-0547

Pub Date Dec 68

Contract-OEC-6-10-068

Note-666p.

EDRS Price MF-$2.50 HC-$33.40

Descriptors-Community Attitudes, *Community Leaders, *Community Study, *Defacto Segregation, Elementary School Students, Emotional Development, Family Background, High School Students, Inner City, Intellectual Development, *Race Relations, Racial Distribution, School Segregation, Statistical Data, *Student Characteristics, Teacher Background

Identifiers-Bridgeport, Connecticut, Hartford, New Haven, Stamford, Waterbury

The first part of this research report presents the findings of a study of public opinion about community problems, particularly race relations and defacto school segregation, in the inner city areas of Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, and Waterbury, Connecticut. In the second part these four communities and Stamford are examined as systems of organized power and authority, with a focus on community leadership. A study of the effect of defacto school segregation on the intellectual and emotional development of sixth- and twelfth-grade students in schools in these five communities is reported in the third part. And the fourth part and an appendix present statistical data and other information on changes in the racial composition of public schools in these communities. (EF)

ED027366

BR 5-0547
PA-24
OE-BR
07875 E

FINAL REPORT
Project No. 5-0547
Contract No. OE-6-10-068

THE EFFECTS OF COMMUNITY STRUCTURE ON SCHOOL DECISIONS: THE SOURCES AND CONSEQUENCES OF DE FACTO SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN FIVE CONNECTICUT CITIES

Irving L. Allen
J. David Colfax
Henry G. Stetler
Walter R. Boland

UD 007 878

The University of Connecticut
Storrs, Connecticut 06268

December, 1968

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

FINAL REPORT
Project No. 5-0547
Contract No. OE-6-10-068

THE EFFECTS OF COMMUNITY STRUCTURE ON SCHOOL DECISIONS: THE SOURCES AND CONSEQUENCES OF DE FACTO SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN FIVE CONNECTICUT CITIES

Irving L. Allen
J. David Colfax
Henry G. Stetler
Walter R. Boland

The University of Connecticut
Storrs, Connecticut 06268

December, 1968

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

UD 007 878

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors wish to acknowledge the generous support of the Connecticut Research Commission and the University of Connecticut Research Foundation toward the completion of this research. The data collection phase of the research was supported from September 1, 1965 to August 31, 1967 by contract No. OE-6-10-068 (Project No. 5-0547), with the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, under the provisions of the Cooperative Research Program. Coding and data processing from September 1, 1967 to January 31, 1968 was supported by the University of Connecticut Research Foundation. The analysis was supported by the Connecticut Research Commission, Research Support Award No. 68-15, from February 1, 1968 to January 31, 1969.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART

I PUBLIC OPINION AND URBAN PROBLEMS IN FOUR CONNECTICUT CITIES

II COMMUNITY LEADERS: CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES

III DE FACTO SCHOOL SEGREGATION AND THE STUDENT: A STUDY OF THE SCHOOLS IN CONNECTICUT'S FIVE MAJOR CITIES

IV CHANGES IN RACIAL COMPOSITION AND DE FACTO SEGREGATION OF PUPILS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF FIVE CONNECTICUT CITIES, 1963-1967

V SUMMARY

APPENDIX

RESULTANT PUBLICATIONS AS OF DECEMBER, 1968

PART I

PUBLIC OPINION AND URBAN PROBLEMS IN FOUR CONNECTICUT CITIES

PART I

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES . . . . *iv*

Chapters Page

1. INTRODUCTION 1
2. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS 9
3. NEGRO MIGRATION TO CONNECTICUT CENTRAL CITIES 23
4. NEIGHBORHOOD STABILITY AND CHANGE 33
5. COMMUNITY RACE RELATIONS AND PUBLIC OPINION 63
6. EDUCATION, EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLIC OPINION . . . 99
7. DE FACTO SCHOOL SEGREGATION AND PUBLIC OPINION 123
8. BUSSING PROPOSALS AND PUBLIC OPINION 139
9. URBAN PROBLEMS AND PUBLIC OPINION 169

REFERENCES 187

PART I

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1. 2. 1	Summary of Drawn Samples of Occupied Households, Completion Rates, and Nonresponse	16
1. 2. 2	Comparison of the New Haven Sample with the Population, by Race, Sex, and Age	18
1. 3. 1	Region of Birth in Continental U.S., Puerto Rican Birth, and Foreign Birth	27
1. 3. 2	Population Size of Birthplace at Census Neareast Birth date	28
1. 3. 3	Region of Residence of One Year or More Immediately Prior to Moving to Present Connecticut City	29
1. 3. 4	Region of Residence for Longest Period	31
1. 3. 5	Number of Different Other Communities Previously Lived in for One Year or More	32
1. 4. 1	Ownership or Rental of Present Residence	35
1. 4. 2	Number of Other Residences in City During Decade Prior to 1966	36
1. 4. 3	Years Lived at Present Address	38
1. 4. 4	Socio-Economic Change in Respondent's Neighborhood Status Resulting from Last Move	39
1. 4. 5	Perceived Direction of Recent Change in Neighborhood Quality	41
1. 4. 6	Satisfaction with Living in Present Neighborhood	43
1. 4. 7	Reason Respondent Wants to Leave Present Neighborhood	44
1. 4. 8	Estimate of Percentage Negro Residents in Present Neighborhood	48
1. 4. 9	Perception of Direction of Racial Composition Change in Present Neighborhood	49
1. 4.10	Negro Respondents' Estimates of Percentage of Negroes Wanting to Leave Predominately Negro Neighborhoods	50

Table Page

1. 4.11 Negro Respondents' Beliefs About Reasons Why Other Negroes Want to Leave Predominately Negro Neighborhoods 51

1. 4.12 Negro Respondents' Preferences for Living in All-Negro or in Racially Integrated Neighborhoods 53

1. 4.13 Percentage Negroes in Negro Respondents' Ideal Integrated Neighborhood 54

1. 4.14 Preference for Central City or Suburban Living 55

1. 4.15 Willingness to Move to Suburbs 57

1. 4.16 Reason Given for Wanting to Move to Suburbs 58

1. 4.17 Actual Plans to Move Outside City Within Next Few Years . 61

1. 5. 1 Social Situations and Areas of Life Where Disapproves of Racial Mixing 65

1. 5. 2 Attitude Towards Recent Negro Demands For Socio-Economic Equality 67

1. 5. 3 Approval or Disapproval of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. . . 69

1. 5. 4 Number of Memberships in all Types of Clubs and Organizations 71

1. 5. 5 Issue-Active Organizational Involvement Score 72

1. 5. 6 Number of Memberships in Civil Rights, Civil Liberties, Liberal Political, and Similar Organizations 74

1. 5. 7 Membership in Local Racially-Integrated Clubs or Organizations 75

1. 5. 8 Visiting with Neighbors of Different Race 76

1. 5. 9 Perception of Intergroup Harmony in City 78

1. 5.10 Assessment of Recent Race Relations Climate in City . . . 79

1. 5.11 Negro Respondents' Opinions Whether Negroes in City Can't Do as Well as Others 80

1. 5.12 Negro Respondents' Personal Experience with Racial Discrimination in Employment 82

1. 5.13 Nature of Personal Experience of Negro Respondents with Racial Discrimination in Employment 83

Table | Page

1. 5.14 Negro Respondents' Personal Experience with Racial Discrimination in Housing 84

1. 5.15 Nature of Personal Experience of Negro Respondents with Racial Discrimination in Housing 85

1. 5.16 Negro Respondents' Self-Assessment of Own Likely Behavior In Contingency of Good-House-Buy Opportunity in White Neighborhood 86

1. 5.17 Reason Given by Negro Respondents for Not Investigating in Good-House-Buy Contingency 87

1. 5.18 Negro Respondents' Interest Level in Civil Rights Activities in City 88

1. 5.19 Negro Respondents' Assessment of Civil-Rights Interest Level Among Most Other Negroes in City 90

1. 5.20 Recent Participation by Negro Respondents in Civil Rights Activities in City 91

1. 5.21 Nature of Recent Participation by Negro Respondents in Civil Rights Activities in City 92

1. 5.22 Negro Respondents' Self-Assessment of Own Likely Response If Asked to Picket 93

1. 5.23 Reason Given by Negro Respondents for Probable Refusal to Picket 94

1. 5.24 Negro Respondents' Self-Assessment of Own Likely Response If Asked to Sell Tickets to Civil Rights Rally 96

1. 5.25 Reason Given By Negro Respondents for Probable Refusal to Sell Tickets to Rally 97

1. 6. 1 Beliefs About Amount of Education Needed for Success 100

1. 6. 2 Beliefs About Life-Chances of Uneducated Man Compared to Educated Man 101

1. 6. 3 Assessment of Importance of Education for Life-Chances 102

1. 6. 4 Approval of Political Discussions and Debates in Public-School Curriculum 104

1. 6. 5 Highest Educational Aspiration for Oldest Son 105

Table Page

1. 6. 6 Highest Educational Aspiration for Oldest Daughter 106

1. 6. 7 Attitudes on Hypothetical Property Tax Increase to Improve Public Schools 107

1. 6. 8 Opinion Whether Local Board of Education is Mainly a Self-Interest Group 108

1. 6. 9 Public's Self-Assessment of Information Level About Local Public Schools Affairs 110

1. 6.10 Characteristic of Public School Liked Most By Respondents 111

1. 6.11 Characteristic of Public Schools Liked Least by Respondents 114

1. 6.12 Opinion of Parents on Most important Secular Advantage of Parochial Schools 119

1. 7. 1 Percentage of Respondents Having Children in any Type of School (1966) 124

1. 7. 2 Percentage of Respondents Having Children in School by Type of School (1966) 125

1. 7. 3 Percent Negro Enrollment in Public School in City with Greatest Percent Negro Among Public Schools in Which Parents Have Children Enrolled 127

1. 7. 4 Public's Spatial-Size Concept of Neighborhood School Area 129

1. 7. 5 Public Opinion on the Main Advantage of the Neighborhood School Idea 130

1. 7. 6 Public Opinion on the Main Disadvantage of the Neighborhood School Idea 133

1. 7. 7 Public Beliefs About Effects of School Desegregation on Quality of Education 134

1. 7. 8 Public's Self-Assessment if Would Move to Another Neighborhood in Reaction to School Segregation 135

1. 7. 9 Public's Self-Assessment if Would Withdraw Child from School in Reaction to School Desegregation 136

1. 7.10 School Desegregation Levels and Public's Self-Assessment of Own Withdrawal Threshold 138

1. 8. 1 Public Awareness of Suburban Bussing Proposals in 1966 . 140

Table Page

1. 8. 2 Public Information Levels on Purposes of Suburban Bussing Proposals 141

1. 8. 3 Public Opinion on Suburban Bussing Proposals 142

1. 8. 4 Discussion of Suburban Bussing Proposal with Friends (Hartford) 144

1. 8. 5 Beliefs About Which Community Groups Favor Suburban Bussing Proposals (Hartford) 145

1. 8. 6 Beliefs About Which Community Groups Oppose Suburban Bussing Proposals (Hartford) 146

1. 8. 7 Public Beliefs About Whether Most Negroes Favor or Oppose Suburban Bussing Proposals (Hartford) 147

1. 8. 8 Public Beliefs About Whether Suburbanites Favor or Oppose Suburban Bussing Proposals (Hartford) 148

1. 8. 9 Parents' Opinion on Suburban Bussing Participation for Own Child (Hartford). 149

1. 8.10 Parents' Preferences Among Hartford Suburbs for Bussing Own Child (Hartford) 150

1. 8.11 Public Opinion on Which Governments Should Pay Additional Costs to City of Suburban Bussing Program (Hartford) . . 151

1. 8.12 Public Opinion on Proposal to Abandon School Districting and to Give Free Choice of Child's School by Parents . . 154

1. 8.13 Public Opinion on Proposal to Bus Negro Children to White Neighborhood 155

1. 8.14 Public Opinion on Proposal to Bus White Children to Negro Neighborhoods 156

1. 8.15 Public Opinion on Proposals to Bus White and Negro Children with Final Decision by Parents (Waterbury) 157

1. 8.16 Public Opinion on Importance of Maintaining the Neighborhood School 159

1. 8.17 Public Preferences for Decision-Making Groups on Bussing Proposals 160

1. 8.18 Negro Parents' Willingness to Send Child to School in Another Neighborhood Without Free Bus Transportation 162

Table Page

1. 8.19 Negro Parents' Reason for Preference for School in Another Neighborhood Without Free Bus Transportation 163

1. 8.20 Negro Parents' Source of Preference for School in Own Neighborhood 164

1. 8.21 Negro Parents' Preferences for School in Another Neighborhood with Free Bus Transportation 165

1. 8.22 Negro Parents' Source of Satisfaction with Present School 166

1. 9. 1 Assessment of Most Important City Problem 170

1. 9. 2 Negro Respondents' Assessment of Most Important Problem Facing Local Negro Community 172

1. 9. 3 Respondents Second-Guessing Local Community Leaderships' Assessment of Most Important City Problem 173

1. 9. 4 Negro Respondents' Second-Guessing Negro Community Leadership's Assessment of Most Important Problem in Negro Community 174

1. 9. 5 Discussion of Various City Problems with Friends 176

1. 9. 6 Assessment of Job Opportunities in Local Community 177

1. 9. 7 Assessment of Housing Conditions in Local Community 178

1. 9. 8 Public Opinion on Best Way City Could Improve Local Housing Conditions 179

1. 9. 9 Negro Respondents' Beliefs About Rent Discrimination Against Negroes by Local Landlords 182

1. 9.10 Public Satisfaction with Local Police Job Performance 183

1. 9.11 Public Opinion on Best Way City Could Improve Work of Police Department 184

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

The structure of public opinion on community problems, especially those centering around issues of race relations and de facto school segregation, is reported for the Connecticut central-city populations in Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, and Waterbury. The climate of public opinion in each of the communities is described to characterize the context of community conflict and issue resolution and the social and political climate in which community leaders made decisions on public policy relevant to urban education and other community problems. The empirical structure of public opinion and its direction, content, and intensity lends interpretability to the content and direction of decision-making affecting public policy.

Although subsequent chapters will deal with a wide variety of familiar urban problems, this report substantially is organized around four areas of public opinion that are critically important for understanding educational decision-making on the issues related to de facto school segregation. These areas of public opinion are (1) attitudes and opinions toward local public education institutions, (2) the climate of community race relations, (3) public opinion on the issues relevant to de facto-segregated elementary schools, and (4) public attitudes toward various proposals, primarily bussing, that have been recommended to alleviate or eliminate the structures of racially imbalanced schools.

Ecological Factors and De Facto School Segregation

Ecological and economic factors in the community, such as the distribution of racial, income, and occupational groups over the area of the city and the changing racial composition in the population, are fundamental sources of the development and maintenance of de facto-segregated schools. Changes in the spatial distribution of ethnic, racial, and socio-economic classes, such as the in-migration of Negroes to the central city and the out-migration of white middle classes from the center of the cities to the suburbs, have direct and extensive effects on the creation and maintenance of racially imbalanced schools. In most middle-sized cities, segregated school compositions can be attributed to several basic demographic and ecological characteristics of central city populations. First, school segregation reflects the pattern of residential segregation in a city. Second, school districting, which also tends to reflect patterns of housing segregation, is often along lines that create relatively homogeneous socio-economic groupings. School districting, while reflecting many historical factors of development, often become entrenched when, if it is not actually gerrymandered, it serves to demarcate racial and socio-economic groupings over areas of the city. Third, recent migrations of Negroes from the rural and small-town South to the central cities of the North and West have further increased levels of racial imbalance, particularly in elementary schools. These migrants increase the number and relative proportions of Negroes in cities and, moreover, tend to settle in the ghetto areas of the city. Both factors thereby intensify the existing patterns of school segregation. Fourth, Negro populations in the central cities of northern and western cities, especially the recent migrants, tend to be younger than the white population. A younger population of parents expectably has a larger proportion of children in the school-age and, especially, the pre-school age categories than have the older white counterparts. This compositional factor disproportionately increases the number of Negro children in the public elementary schools compared to the white school-age population.

As central-city elementary schools become increasingly Negro, resulting from the influx of young Negro parents and their children of preschool and school age, the whites characteristically react. Partly for this reason, many central cities in the North and West are losing white populations while gaining Negro populations. Whites who can afford it often move to suburban communities where the elementary schools are more homogeneously white and middle-class. Other central-city whites attempt to move to other neighborhoods in the city where schools contain a smaller proportion of Negroes, or, in a few cases, they may withdraw their children from the public schools and enroll them in parochial and private schools. The factors of racial and socio-economic housing segregation, coupled with the youthful age structure of the Negro populations, continuing Negro migration to the central cities, the responding white exodus to suburbs and, for those who can afford it,enrollment in private and parochial schools, have the effect of accumulating and compounding the de facto-segregated school structures that result from residential segregation and school districting alone. There is some recent evidence, however, that the northward migration may be stabilizing and that, coupled with middle-class Negroes moving to suburban areas in some cities, the rate of increase of Negro populations in central cities may be slowing.

Socio-Economic Characteristics of Four Representative Cities

At the time of the surveys in 1966, Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, and Waterbury were the central cities or principle municipalities of the four largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's) in Connecticut. It is estimated that some time in 1967 Stamford exceeded Waterbury in size. Stamford, however, would be excluded from the study in any event because of its atypical socio-economic characteristics reflecting its suburban relationship to the New York City metropolitan area. Although Connecticut is a relatively compact state, each of the four cities is functionally independent and none exerts a dominant influence over all or most of the state. The varying economic and demographic characteristics of each, such as characteristics of the labor force, the size and increase in the Negro populations, the age structure, median education, occupational structure, and the levels of family income, all have direct and indirect implications for understanding the differential patterns of public opinion and de facto school segregation in each community.

The four Connecticut cities were chosen to be roughly representative of a variety of middle-sized cities in the 100,000 to 200,000 range in the United States, especially in the North and Midwest. The 1960 population of the central cities ranged from 92,713 to 162,178, of which about seven to 16 percent was Negro. The SMSA's were, of course, considerably larger, ranging from 181,638 (Waterbury) to 525,207 (Hartford). The cities are characterized by widely different patterns of residential segregation. The industrial structure of the SMSA's ranges from a relatively great diversification of industry in New Haven to an extreme specialization of industry--manufacturing--in Waterbury. The socioeconomic characteristics of the cities showed considerable variation among the five cities and also between the white and Negro populations within each [Allen, Colfax, Stetler, 1965:1-30].

Bridgeport. Bridgeport is an industrial city, with nearly half of its labor force engaged in diversified manufacturing activities. Bridgeport's Negro population increased 127 percent in the 1950-60 decade, while its white population declined seven percent, or less than half the rate in Hartford or New Haven. In 1966, Bridgeport was the least segregated of any of the four cities; only 19 percent of Negroes lived in predominantly Negro blocks, compared with two thirds of those in Hartford.

Hartford. Hartford, comparable in size to such cities as Gary, Youngstown, and Spokane, doubled its Negro population in the 1950-60 decade; current estimates place it at about 25 percent of the total. Hartford is residentially segregated to a greater degree than the other three cities. Two thirds of the Negro population lived in predominately Negro blocks. About one third of its elementary schools had more than 50 percent Negro enrollment.

New Haven. New Haven experienced the highest rate of Negro population growth in the 1950-60 decade, with a 131 percent increase. Its white population decline of 16 percent was nearly identical with that of Hartford. Residential segregation in New Haven was not as pronounced as in Hartford, although in 1960 both cities had Negro communities of roughly the same proportion--15 to 20 percent.

Waterbury. Waterbury, comparable in size to Cambridge, Elizabeth, Duluth, and Peoria, is distinguished from Hartford and New Haven by its industrial characteristics. Waterbury is heavily industrial, having 50 percent of its labor force in the industrial sector. In the 1950-60 decade, Waterbury's Negro population nearly doubled, although it comprised less than a tenth of the total population in 1966. Despite its relatively small school-aged Negro population (15 percent), 11 percent of the elementary schools were more than 50 percent Negro, and eight percent were all white.

White and Negro Age Differences. Persons 18 years old or younger accounted for 43 percent of the nonwhite central-city population in Connecticut, as compared to 31 percent for whites. The proportion of young people in the population was greater for nonwhites than whites in each of the central cities. At the other extreme, the proportion of older persons was substantially greater for whites than for the nonwhite population. The relative youthfulness of the nonwhite populations is further revealed by a consideration of the school-age population. For the state as a whole, 23 percent of the nonwhite population was composed of persons between the ages of six and 18 years, whereas only 20 percent of the whites fell into this age group. The proportion of nonwhites at these school ages ranged from 23 percent in New Haven to 26 percent in Waterbury; among whites it ranged from 17 percent in Hartford to 21 percent in Waterbury. In each of the central cities, the nonwhites had from five to seven percent more persons in the school-age category than whites. Furthermore, relative differences between the proportion of whites and of nonwhites in the preschool age group are even larger.

White and Negro Educational Differences. In each city, the nonwhite population contained a substantially larger proportion of persons who had not graduated from high school than did the white population. In all the cities, more than 70 percent of the nonwhites of age 25 and over had not completed high school, with proportions ranging from 70 percent in New Haven to 77 percent in Hartford. Among whites, this proportion ranged from 61 percent in New Haven to 67 percent in Bridgeport. In each city, the proportion of college graduates was twice to three times as great among whites as nonwhites. Among nonwhites, the proportion ranged from one percent in Waterbury to over four percent in New Haven. Among whites, the proportion of college graduates ranged from five percent in Waterbury to ten percent in New Haven.

White and Negro Occupational Differences. In each city the nonwhite labor force contained a larger proportion of persons in blue-collar occupations than did the white labor force. Within each of the cities, the proportion of blue-collar workers among nonwhites was at least half again as large as the corresponding proportion for the white population. The proportion of nonwhites in blue-collar occupations ranged from 82 percent in Hartford to 92 percent in Waterbury. By way of contrast, the proportion of whites in blue-collar occupations ranged from 51 percent in New Haven and Hartford to slightly over 60 percent in Waterbury and Bridgeport.

White and Negro Family Income Differences. The nonwhite population of each of the central cities contained a larger percentage of families with 1959 incomes of less than $3,000 per year than did the white population. The proportion of low-income families among nonwhites ranged from 24 percent in Waterbury to 34 percent in New Haven. The proportion of white low-income families, on the other hand, ranged from ten percent in Waterbury to 14 percent in New Haven. In general, low-income families were two to three times more frequent among nonwhites than among the white population. The proportion of nonwhite families with 1959 incomes of $10,000 or more a year ranged from four percent in New Haven to eight percent in Waterbury. In contrast, the proportion of high-income white families ranged from 15 percent in Bridgeport to 18 percent in Waterbury. In contrast to the low-income situation, the proportions of nonwhite families having annual incomes of $10,000 or more were from one fourth to one half the size of the corresponding proportions for whites.

Public Opinion and Community Problems

The National Association of Public Opinion Research defines public opinion research as "studies in which the principal source of information about individual beliefs, preferences, and behavior is a report given by the individual himself." Public opinion is a collective pattern of opinion on a given issue which represents the opinion of those in a population who are concerned with an issue as a matter of opinion and are aware of the issue. Generally, issues relevant to public opinion are public issues, such as urban problems, that widely affect the whole community. The fact that public opinion is concerned with issues implies that there is at least some lack of consensus on the issue among the public. Furthermore, there must be a general awareness of the issue among the public and some amount of general information about the issue before competent public opinion can be expressed. For the public issues dealt with in this report, the public is defined as the noninstitutionalized adult population residing within the four municipalities.

Public opinion can be observed and estimated in ways other than by scientific polling and surveying. Results of elections and referenda, especially at the local level, are sometimes good indexes to the underlying structure of opinion in a community. Elections and referenda, however, do not always accurately index the structure of opinion, because many people do not vote in local elections and referenda on many issues are never held. Considerably less reliable indexes to public opinion are the claims and representations of various voluntary associations and organizations that function as pressure groups. Pressure groups often, whether intentionally or not, characterize public opinion on issues that interest them as favorable to their own collective sentiments. Scientific public opinion polling in recent decades has made possible more accurate political analysis by enabling policy-makers to separate the claims of various pressure groups about the nature of public sentiment from the actual structure of public opinion. Modern polling and surveying techniques have given public policy-makers a reliable alternative to "reading their mail" and listening to the often outrageous claims of interested pressure group representatives. However, it is often pointed out that knowledge of the structure of public opinion in a population does not indicate to policy-makers the extent and nature of real pressures that are likely to be exerted against them by persons who have the social, political, or economic power to influence their decisions.

The Nature of Public Opinion

Operationally, an expression of public opinion is the frequency or percentage distribution of responses of a public to a standardized stimulus, such as a given question asked in a public opinion poll or survey. Values are the basic source and well-spring of people's attitudes and opinions on public issues, such as community problems. Values are deep-lying and often nebulous ideas, such as the values of democracy, social and racial equality, violence, and racism. Attitudes are tendencies to respond or behave in particular directions on certain issues. For example, the values of bigotry and racial prejudice predispose an individual to systematic and predictable attitudes toward public issues, proposals, and policies relevant to these values. Values and attitudes lie behind the expression of particular opinions and may be used to explain the content of expressed opinions.

Public opinion may be characterized as having a number of dimensions. First, public opinion usually has "direction," unless a public is evenly divided in their opinion on an issue. Usually there is some detectable direction with a majority, if only a small majority, favoring one side of an issue. Second, public opinion has an affective dimension, often called "intensity." Intensity is the strength of emotion or conviction with which a public collectively holds an opinion. In these surveys, for example, intensity is measured by providing response categories such as "disagree" and "strongly disagree" or "agree" and "strongly agree." The level of intensity is an index of the potential that some part of the public will try to influence public policy through some kind of political participation.

Third, public opinion on a given issue also has "informational" content. Individuals and publics must have sufficient information on the issue in order to express a competent opinion. It is well known that many people are all too willing to express an opinion on issues about which they have very little or no information. It has been reliably estimated that about ten percent of the general population in the United States has no information about public affairs and current events. Even larger proportions of the general public are uninformed about local community affairs. Generally, the issues covered by these surveys were judged suitable topics for public opinion in that there was enough awareness and information on the issues that most people could express a competent opinion. Several questions in these surveys dealt with problems too remote from the knowledge and interests of many respondents for them to express a competent opinion. This is often reflected in a high rate of "don't know" responses. These questions are mainly useful for detailed analyses of interested and knowledgeable subgroups in the samples. In other cases, the issues were briefly explained to respondents in order to assess their general attitudinal predispositions toward the issues.

Information about current events and community problems is differentially distributed among various groups in the general population. The differential distribution of information about issues of public opinion has known and relatively stable characteristics. Amounts of information on public issues vary with sex, age, race, income, religious affiliation, and occupation, among numerous other traits. However, education or, more generally, socio-economic status is the basic characteristic accounting for variations in information associated with other traits. Generally, the higher the education and socio-economic status of individuals, the more information they will have. Most of the differences in information among racial, religious, and ethnic groups are usually explained away when education and socio-economic status are held constant. There is some independent association, however, with age and, especially, sex differences. Men have more information about public affairs than women, even when differences in education are held constant. Very young men between 18 and 25 tend to have less information than men in their middle years; furthermore, elderly men tend to have less information than middle-aged men or younger men, despite education differences. The possession of information about local community problems is largely a function of interest in the issues. Groups directly affected by the issues, such as parents or Negroes, are generally better informed, regardless of socio-economic status. Otherwise information and well-formulated opinions tend to be concentrated among the well-educated and articulate middle classes.

A fourth dimension of public opinion is "depth" or "integration." This refers to the extent that an opinion is "logically" underpinned in sentiment, values, morals, and ideology. Ideologies are the systematic and more or less rational integration of values, attitudes, and opinions toward certain broad aspects of social systems, such as the political and economic systems. In this sense, ideology is an integrating system that organizes opinions, attitudes, and values in regard to certain community problems, such as race relations and school segregation. Observed differences in the structure of public opinion and attitudes among the four communities, therefore, reflect differences in the ideological structure of the community. Educational policy decisions are made in the context and under the influences of prevailing ideologies in the community.

Ideologies and thus public opinion on many issues are closely related to socio-economic characteristics of urban communities and explain many variations between cities in the structure of public opinion on the kinds of issues taken up in this study. Socio-economic status derives from an individual's education, occupation, income, and style of life. It was shown earlier in this chapter that there are substantial socio-economic differences among the four cities. Sociological research has consistently shown that high socio-economic status tends to be associated with socially and politically permissive or "liberal" attitudes and opinions on issues of racial and social equality. On the other hand, low or marginal socio-economic status is often associated with intolerance and authoritarianism. An extensive cross-tabular analysis of the public opinion data presented in this report would undoubtedly confirm this loose prediction. Variations among these four urban populations would be accountable largely in terms of variations among the populations in such traits as median education, median income, occupation, ethnic composition, and the racial composition of the community. The main thrust of this research, however, is to characterize the overall structure of public opinion in each city rather than to explain variations among cities in the direction and intensity of public opinion.

A final dimension of public opinion is consistency or stability. This stability dimension is often not well understood. Public opinion is the distribution of verbal responses to a given question at the time of the survey. Knowledge of the structure of public opinion at a given time is a fallible basis to predict future responses or behavior. Public opinion, depending on the issue, is often vacillating and unstable, substantially changing from week to week or even from day to day. Assuming that public opinion is validly and reliably measured, instability is often a reflection of real changes in public opinion and not of inaccuracies in the polling procedure. Instability of public opinion is often in response to related events, especially those given attention in the mass media. The intensity, informational, and integration dimensions are variables closely related to the stability of public opinion. Generally, the greater the amount of information, intensity, and underpinning in ideology, the greater will be the stability of expressed opinion.

These five dimensions of public opinion determine the relevance of a particular public opinion for decision-making on related issues by community leadership. A given expression of opinion must be analysed in terms of these characteristics to assess its probable effectiveness to influence decision-making on local urban problems. The method of measuring public opinion in these surveys is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Two

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

The four samples of the general population are representative of cross-sections of the adult populations in each city. The samples were selected on a scientific probability basis; all adult persons in the populations have a known and determinate chance of selection. This type of sampling permits, as other types of sampling do not, the estimation of population values within known and calculable margins of sampling error. Any characteristic of a sample accurately represents the larger population within these determinate margins of sampling error. For example, probability sampling makes it possible to say that 80 percent of the sample in New Haven favor a particular program and to generalize that somewhere between 75 to 85 percent of the larger population holds this opinion and, further, to say that this statement has at least 95 chances in 100 of being correct. If it is not important to know that there is only a five percent chance of being wrong in this estimation, then estimations within even closer margins can be made, depending on the degree of certainty that is desired or required for a particular generalization. Details of the sampling and surveying procedures will be discussed in the following sections of this chapter.

Definition of Populations

Generally, the populations were defined as all noninstitutionalized adult residents in households in each of the central cities at the time of the survey [Allen and Colfax, 1967:7-17, 57-60]. Specifically, the populations were defined as all persons 20 years of age or over and all married persons, regardless of age, living in all households located within each of the municipalities. A household is an occupied dwelling unit. In general, a dwelling unit is a group of rooms or a single room occupied or intended for occupancy as separate living quarters by a family, a group of unrelated persons, or a person living alone. Excluded from the definition of dwelling unit were prisons, hospitals, student dormitories, fraternity and sorority houses, missions and shelters, rest homes, convents, etc. The detailed definition of a dwelling unit, which varies slightly from the definition used by the U.S. Census, is described in Allen and Colfax [1967:7-10].

The Survey Periods

The four surveys were conducted sequentially between April and October 1966. Although the majority of all interviewing for a survey was completed in about a week, call backs continued for some time afterwards. The

Waterbury survey was substantially completed in April and May, 1966; Hartford, in June and July, 1966; New Haven, in July and August, 1966; and Bridgeport, in September and October, 1966. Occasionally, widely publicized national and local events that happened during a survey period affect survey results dealing with the same or related problems; responses given before the event are not comparable to responses given after the event. For example, a widely-publicized ghetto riot during a survey period could markedly affect white and Negro responses on race-related issues. For such reasons, one might question whether the four city surveys are comparable since they were conducted over a seven-month period. However, these months in 1966 were relatively uneventful in these cities in the areas of intergroup relations, schools, and other community problem areas that are the focuses of these surveys. Hartford and New Haven were troubled by serious racial disturbances for the first time in the summer of 1967. These survey data provide a relatively static cross-sectional picture of the structure of public opinion and attitudes on race-related social problems in mid-1966.

Sampling Procedures

The samples were standard two-stage stratified area probability samples of households. One adult respondent was randomly selected to be interviewed within each sample household. The selection of the respondent constitutes a third stage of sampling. The detailed criteria for determining members of households is described in Allen and Colfax [1967:60]. The primary sampling units generally were square block units that contained dwelling units according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census [1961]. All dwelling units on each selected primary unit were listed by address and the lists were subsampled to yield the drawn sample of households. Thus, a specific individual in a specific household was designated as the respondent from the outset and no substitution of individuals or households was allowable in the sampling design.

The basic procedures were: (1) the selection of a random probability sample of primary sampling units (usually square city blocks); (2) the selection of a random probability sample of households within each selected primary sampling unit, such that each household in the city had exactly the same chance of being included in the sample; and (3) the random selection of one eligible respondent in each selected household. These three basic procedures will be discussed in succession.

Selections of Primary Sampling Units. All primary sampling units in each city were stratified by Census tracts [U.S. Bureau of the Census: 1961] and each tract-stratum was sampled. U.S. Census tracts, which are available for cities over 50,000, indicate areas of the cities that are roughly homogeneous in socio-economic characteristics. The primary sampling units were selected with probabilities proportionate to size (PPS) [Kish, 1965:220-247; Hansen, Hurwitz, and Madow, 1953:341-348]. Selection with PPS gives a probability of selection to each primary sampling unit in direct proportion to its estimated measure of size. Selected primary units are then sub-samples with fractions that are inversely proportionate to the probability of selecting a given primary sampling unit. Selection with PPS permits subsample size control and overall sample size control by controlling the number of dwelling units selected in each primary sampling unit, both of which will vary only insofar as the estimated measures of size for primary sampling units are incorrect.

Before the first stage of the sample was selected, 1960 estimates of measures of size for the primary sampling units [U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1961] were corrected and updated by inspection in the field to account for large changes in the numbers of dwelling units on blocks brought about by extensive urban renewal and highway construction since 1960. Further, public records of building permits and construction and public utility records were checked to locate all buildings erected since 1960 having four or more dwelling units. Major real estate developments of single-family and duplex dwelling were also accounted for in this manner. Similarly, records were checked to locate all major demolitions since 1960. Measures of size for blocks were corrected by adding the new units and substracting the units that had been demolished. It is estimated that these procedures accounted for all major changes in the measures of size, except for small and largely random omissions. This estimation was verified by the highly regular number of dwelling units drawn in each selected primary sampling unit in the second stage of the sampling and the close approximation of the overall drawn sample sizes to the planned sizes. Extremely large block units were divided into two or more primary sampling units with the aid of detailed maps. Blocks with measures of size less than that required by the sampling design were linked to adjacent blocks and linked blocks were treated as single primary sampling units.

Selection of Households. An address-listing and subsampling design was chosen mainly for reasons specific to the goals and context of the research operation. Instructions to survey listers are reproduced in Allen and Colfax [1967]. One result of a listing and subsampling design is that selected predesignated addresses (households) are usually not adjacent to one another and are often separated on the blockface by several buildings. Because of the length and nature of the interview schedule, it was advisable thus to reduce the interaction among respondents that often occurs when a compact segmental design is employed. In compact segmental designs, small spatial areas are selected which contain three to ten adjacent households, all of which are surveyed. Also desired was the greater heterogeneity and, thus. the lesser variance per dwelling, among the second stage sample of households that listing and subsampling affords, as compared with compact segmental designs. Finally, it was desired to obtain the measure of control over the interviewing operation that is afforded by pre-specification of dwelling unit addresses in the drawn sample.

Drawn samples, ranging in size from 471 to 714 dwelling units, were selected in each central city to reflect its relative size. Several analytical goals determined these sample sizes, aside from the usual cost and error considerations. The sample sizes permit a comparative analysis of the four cities as well as permitting the aggregate analysis of any combination of the four samples with each city represented in proportion to its size. A further analytical goal was within-city comparative analyses of the white and Negro populations. The smallest of the four cities, Waterbury, also happened to have proportionately the smallest Negro population. It was necessary therefore to create a supplementary sample of Negro households, in addition to those drawn in the general population sample, in order to obtain enough Negro respondents for a comparative analysis of the two populations. Allen [1968] describes procedures for selecting economical probability samples of Negro households in urban areas. In the following chapters, all tables showing characteristics of Negroes in Waterbury will include the 107 Negro respondents in the supplementary sample combined with the 29 in the regular sample. For analytical purposes, that do not include racial comparisons, the supplementary sample of 107 Negro households would be excluded, as the 29 Negro respondents in the regular sample are a proportionate representation (seven percent) for the Waterbury population as a whole.

Selecting the Respondent. A simplified version [Trohldahl and Carter; Backstrom and Hursch:52, 54-58] of the within-household respondent selection device originally developed by Kish [1949] was used [Allen and Colfax, 1967:57-68]. One of six versions of the respondent selection key is randomly associated by serial number with each household in the drawn sample. Therefore, a given respondent, who is identified by the key according to sex and relative age in the household, is fixed and invariable for a given household. The simplified device, which minimizes interviewer decision-making and questioning at the door-step, is easily verified by telephone, if necessary.

The respondent selection keys give each listed adult in a given household a probability of selection that is inversely proportionate to the number of adults listed in the household. That is, a respondent in a one-adult household has a 1/1 chance of selection (26 percent of the respondents lived in one-adult households), a respondent in a two-adult household has a 1/2 chance of selection (59 percent of respondents), a respondent in a three-adult household has a 1/3 chance of selection (11 percent), and in a four-or-more-adult household has approximately a 1/4 chance of selection (3 percent). The sample of adult respondents is, as a result, a disproportionate stratified sample--stratified by the number of adults in the household with differential sampling fractions applied within each stratum. Therefore, the samples are self-weighting for households but they are not self-weighting for individual adults in the city. The only caveat required in the interpretation of these data is that insofar as any population value is associated with the number of adults in households the sample value will be biased accordingly. However, an analysis, which is not presented here, shows that most variables reported here are not substantially associated with the number of adults in households. Moreover, many of the key variables that shall be analyzed in subsequent chapters properly may be considered characteristics of households, which are self-weighting in the samples. Any individual expression of attitudes, opinion or behavior that also characterize a household trait is, in effect, self-weighting in the sample. Examples are intra-city mobility patterns, plans for suburban migration, and the extensive interviewing of parents about their attitudes and possible behavioral reactions toward the changing racial composition of the schools.

The Data Collection Instrument

The data collection instrument was a fifty-page predominately pre-coded and field-coded interview schedule that required on the average about one hour to administer, although some interviews ran to two hours. In addition, an eight-page supplementary interview schedule was administered to all Negro respondents in the four regular samples and in the Waterbury supplementary sample of Negroes. The schedule was pre-tested on approximately 25 "typical" respondents which resulted in extensive revisions before the final version of the schedule was approved. A number of responses were recorded as "limited" open-ended responses. "Other" responses that did not fit the field-coded categories were coded in the office by providing additional categories. Slightly variant versions of the interview schedule were used in each city in order to respond to changing local conditions and issues. These few variations in the schedule were mainly the deletion or addition of single or small groups of questions and did not alter the integrity of the basic schedule. The instrument was a standard survey schedule that incorporated all the pertinent features of questionnaire construction to assure maximum validity and reliability of responses.

The instrument is not reproduced in this report as an appendix because of its bulk and the variant forms and because the data reported herein were coded extensively beyond that collected by the instrument alone. Elaborate coding categories for open-ended responses were developed in the office, as well as the introduction of extraneous data from the U.S. Census and other sources into the coding scheme. For example, extensive Census data about the socio-economic traits of each respondent's neighborhood were coded to the individual respondent. The resulting 300 page code book distinguished over 700 variables and re-codings of single variables for each respondent. The exact wording of each question is reproduced as a part of the heading of each table that reports data collected from direct questions to respondents. The special conditions under which a particular question was asked, if any,are reported in the table heading and in the text. For example, many questions were asked only of certain respondents, such as parents of school-age children, women, or Negroes. Other questions of a probing or follow-up nature were asked contingent on a certain reply to a previous question. The sequence and context in which questions are asked is extremely important for interpreting responses. Questions in the schedule were grouped into meaningful and coherent subject categories and transitional phrases and questions were provided when changing the line of questioning. In this report, responses to related questions are reported in subject grouping and, unless otherwise indicated, groups of sequential questions are reported in the same order as they were asked in the schedule.

Interviewer Training and Performance

The interviewers, predominately mature-appearing women, were carefully trained before going into the field. They were required to study a fifty page interviewer's manual [Allen-Colfax, 1967] and master the interview schedule to be used. In a formal two-hour training session, the purposes of the survey were explained, more difficult parts of the questionnaire were rehearsed, a complete mock interview session was observed, and a question-and-answer period was conducted. Interviewers were, in addition, required to conduct a practice interview with a friend or relative. Furthermore, they were closely supervised in the field by assistant field directors working with interviewers in teams of about six each. The details of this supervisory field procedureare described in Allen and Colfax [1967:79-89]. This close supervision on the job by field directors reduced the necessity of more extensive training before going into the field. Close supervision was not relaxed until the field directors were confident that the interviewers had become fully skilled and dependable. The bulk of the interviewing was done by about twenty women, most of whom worked regularly for periods of six months or more. Other field procedures for these surveys are summarized in detail and all instructional materials to interviewers are reproduced in Allen and Colfax [1967].

Inter-Racial and Foreign Language Interviewing

It is generally acknowledged by sample survey researchers that racial differences between the interviewer and respondent in many cases prevent the accurate expression and recording of opinions and, in some cases, obstruct the truthfulness of some opinions and attitudes. Because of the extensive and probing lines of questioning in the areas of community-race relations, school segregation, and problems of the Negro community, interracial interviewing could seriously affect the validity of white and Negro responses. In these surveys, however, all Negro respondents in each city were interviewed only by Negro interviewers. All white respondents, likewise, were interviewed only by white interviewers [Allen and Colfax, 1967:70].

Interviewers with foreign language skills were recruited because of the large numbers of older foreign-born populations and recently arrived Puerto Ricans in Connecticut central cities. All foreign language interviewers were required to have native or equivalent acquired fluency in the foreign language in which they were permitted to interview. Whenever, in a regular interviewer's judgment, it was felt that an interview in English with a foreign-born or Puerto Rican respondent could proceed with adequate understanding, interviewing in English was always preferred; otherwise, a foreign-language interviewer was assigned. Instructions to regular interviewers who encountered a foreign-language speaking respondent are described in Allen and Colfax [1967:70-71]. About five percent of the white respondents were interviewed in one of eight different foreign languages, although most of the foreign language interviewing was in

Italian, Polish, and Spanish. The foreign language interviewers were given additional in-depth training and they understood the purposes of each question. Foreign-language interviewers were permitted to translate the schedule into the foreign language.

Completion Rates and Nonresponse

Table 1.2.1 shows that completed interviews as proportions of the drawn samples ranged from 85 percent to 89 percent among the four cities. These completion rates are relatively high for large-scale sample surveys in central city areas that use strict probability sampling procedures. Twenty-eight percent of the interviews were completed on the first call, 23 percent on the second call, 18 percent on the third, 13 percent on the fourth, the remainder requiring four or more call-backs. The group organization of interviewing and other aspects of the field procedures made repeated call-backs considerably less expensive than for interviewers working alone [Allen and Colfax, 1967:79-89].

Table 1.2.1 shows that six percent to nine percent of the respondents were contacted but refused to be interviewed for various reasons. When the reason was something other than serious illness, grief, and the such, the respondents were contacted at a later date by a different interviewer, usually an interviewer with known skills to persuade the cooperation of recalcitrant respondents. Over one-third of the prospective respondents who refused at first were eventually interviewed. Over five percent of the completed interviews were originally refusals that were completed upon another call, usually by another interviewer. Of the refusals that were not completed, few can be described as hostile refusals; illness was the most frequent reason given. Another five percent to seven percent of the drawn sample was never contacted because no one was ever found at home or because the designated respondent was never home despite repeated call-backs at different times of the day and on different days of the week over the entire survey period in a particular city.

The structure of the usual 15 to 25 percent nonresponse in probability sample surveys has been extensively analysed by different survey research organizations and it is generally concluded the nonrespondents in a drawn sample, while differing in certain traits, do not as a group substantially differ in their attitudes and opinions. Nonrespondents, whether for reasons of refusal or because the designated respondent was never found at home, are disproportionately men. Generally, the respondents were cooperative, they approved of the purposes of the surveys, and nine out of ten agreed that surveys were useful to universities and public officials [Allen and Colfax, 1968]. Allen and Colfax [1968], in an analysis of data from these surveys, note that about a quarter of the respondents said they were initially suspicious of a sales attempt when approached by the interviewer. Only eight percent to 16 percent of the respondents said they had previously participated in an interview such as this before.

TABLE 1.2.1

SUMMARY OF DRAWN SAMPLES OF OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS, COMPLETION RATES, AND NONRESPONSE

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Interviewed	84.6	85.2	85.9	89.0
Refused	8.3	7.7	8.7	5.7
Not contacted	7.1	7.1	5.4	5.3
N	714	756	623	471

Comparison of the New Haven Sample With a Census

A conventional way to show the representative "accuracy" of a population sample is to compare the distribution of certain key variables in the sample to the known distribution of those variables in the population. U.S. Census figures are often used for this purpose when a survey population corresponds to a Census population, such as a city, and when the survey is conducted soon after a decennial census. These surveys, however, were conducted near the middle of the decennium, and the rapidly changing demographic structure [Cf. Allen, Colfax, Stetler, 1965] of the cities would obviate the usefulness of such comparisons. The U.S. Bureau of the Census, however, conducted on April 5, 1967 a Special Census of the New Haven S.M.S.A., from which data on race, sex, and age for the City of New Haven are available [U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1967]. The Special Census was conducted about seven months after the New Haven survey was substantially completed.

Table 1.2.2 shows the comparison of three variables in the New Haven sample and in the New Haven Census. The distributions for race and age are very close, varying less than three percent, which is easily within the range of expectable sampling error. The sex distribution is substantially different, however, showing the sample to be over-representative of women. Part of this discrepancy can be accounted for by the purposeful definition of the population that excluded certain institutionalized persons who are disproportionately men, such as prison inmates. Most of the discrepancy, however, is accounted for by the 11 to 15 percent nonresponse, which is disproportionately men, who are most apt to be continuously absent from the household and to refuse an interview. Over-representation of women is found in nearly all probability samples of this type. In strict probability sampling, respondents cannot be substituted to make up quotas so that the sample will resemble the larger population according to certain traits, such as the proportion of men.

Sampling Error and Generalizing From the Sample

Sample survey data yield estimates of population values but not exact values. Probability sampling permits the estimation of population values within known and calculable margins of sampling error. Any statistic for a sample, such as a percentage, represents the larger population from which it was drawn within these determinate margins of sampling error. This survey report is multipurpose in the hundreds of estimations of population parameters and comparisons that will be made, which obviates the usefulness of making one or several estimates of sampling error. Furthermore, the provisional analysis is descriptive of general trends in the data and exploratory rather than concerned with the testing of one or several specific hypotheses that require known and exact confidence limits for the interpretation of a basic datum. It is necessary, therefore, to describe the general guidelines for data presentation and the bases for making certain inferences about the larger populations in the discussions of the data.

TABLE 1.2.2

COMPARISON OF THE NEW HAVEN SAMPLE WITH THE POPULATION, BY RACE, SEX, AND AGE

(Percent)

	SAMPLE	POPULATION
Total	100.0	100.0
White	81.4	82.8
Negro	18.5	17.2
N*	531	94,234
Total	100.0	100.0
Men	38.3	46.8
Women	61.7	53.2
N	535	95,487
Total	100.0	100.0
20 - 39 years of age	42.7	41.9
40 - 59 years of age	29.4	32.1
60 years of age and over	27.8	26.0
N	531	95,487

*Orientals omitted in sample and population N's.

The data in this report are presented in the form of percentages for traits of the samples and of subsets in the samples. The report makes comparisons of white and Negro public opinion within each and among the cities. For a given percentage statistic, margins of error can be estimated, depending on the confidence level required for the particular generalization. For example, assume that a table shows that 60 percent of the New Haven sample expresses a certain opinion. The estimated sampling error may be expressed in percentage points. One may generalize that the actual population value lies within the range of 56 to 64 percent in 95 out of every 100 samples (95 percent confidence level) drawn like the ones in this study. That is, the estimation that 60 percent of the larger population holds the given opinion will in all likelihood (95 chances in 100) be correct within the range of ± 4 percentage points. Margins of sampling error for given confidence levels increase as the sizes of the samples or subsets decrease, varying inversely with the square root of the size of the sample or subset. The error variability for a given observation reflects the sizes of the samples or subsets and reaches a maximum, for samples of a given size, when the proportions approach 50 percent. A 95 percent confidence level may be too "cautious" for the importance that needs to be attached to a given estimation of a population value and 90 or 80 percent confidence levels may be more appropriate. In such case, even closer error margins may be inferred, such as ± 3 or ± 2 percent.

Another frequent way to read data such as those presented in this report is to compare or contrast percentage differences between two samples or subsets. Dozens of such comparisons can be made for many of the tables. Similar to the way estimates are made for a single statistic, error ranges at given confidence levels can be determined for percentage differences between two samples or subsets. Estimates at different levels, however, are not calculated for the many hundreds of statistics and comparisons mentioned in the text. Approximate error ranges are known for different kinds of multi-stage clustered samples of various sizes [e.g. Freedman, Whelpton, and Campbell, 1959] and may be used as informal guidelines. Many of the percentage differences between small subsets may not be statistically significant at a given confidence level but are nonetheless very suggestive. For example, when differences between subsets are in the same direction in each of the four cities, the pattern itself may be statistically significant even when the differences between two subsets for a single city sample are not.

A further caveat must be made about interpreting these tables and generalizing from the sample statistics. In many of the tables, the percentage statistics are based on relatively small numbers of interviews, especially in the Negro subsamples. For example, certain questions were asked only of respondents who gave certain replies to a previous question or of certain categories of respondents. Furthermore, we have, where appropriate, followed the practice of dropping large proportions of cases who gave "don't know" responses from the base N used to calculate the percentage distributions. Special code categories were provided for a few of the questions in the interview schedule to indicate that the respondents simply did not or could not understand the question. These cases also were dropped from the base N. Often several of these procedures are followed for a single table which considerably reduces the base N, especially in the Negro subsamples. When one or more of these procedures made the base N so small as to obviate any useful or generalizable information from the percentage distributions, to emphasize this, percentages are not shown. A base of N = 25 was arbitrarily chosen as the lower limit to show a percentage distribution. However, the cell frequencies will be shown when N = 25 or less for the purpose of record information. Generally, sample statistics based on very small base N's will not be emphasized in the text, although they may be mentioned when they conform to a consistent pattern observed in all or most of the four city populations or sub-populations.

Non-Sampling Error

Biases and inaccuracies in samples result from sources other than sampling error, such as coding error, processing error, nonresponse and interviewer error. Each of these non-sampling sources of error were kept to a practical minimum. When the completed interview schedules were returned to the office, they were checked for omitted questions. Respondents were telephoned in order to complete the missing information. After the coded data were keypunched into 13 IBM cards for each respondent, the 30,000 cards were extensively checked by computer for internal consistency of coding before the data were transferred to magnetic tape. (All the data processing was done by using the IBM 360 computer at the University of Connecticut.) As a result, spot checks indicated that the remaining data-handling error did not exceed about 0.1 percent of the "bits" of information that were coded and therefore can be considered negligible. The bias from non-response was discussed previously in this chapter.

Interviewer error is another source of non-sampling error in surveys. Inter-interviewer reliability and interviewer validity was generally high on these surveys, but a few interviewers in any large-scale surveys make "random" errors and have certain systematic biases in recording and interpreting certain kinds of responses to certain questions. Thorough training of interviewers can control or eliminate most such tendencies, but some indeterminate interviewer bias of this sort exists in most surveys of this type. It is always desirable, when possible, to have samples interviewed by a relatively large number of interviewers, for any systematic bias or error on the part of individual interviewers, insofar as such tendencies are randomly distributed among interviewers, is "randomized" among the interviewers and thereby offset in the aggregate distribution of responses. When all interviewing is done by a single interviewer, any systematic interviewer bias in recording responses or interpreting responses to particular questions and fitting them into appropriate categories is compounded and accumulated.

The only place on these surveys where such cumulative interviewer bias may have been a factor is in the interviewing of Negro respondents in Bridgeport, although most of the recorded responses are believed to be valid. Due to difficulty in recruiting interviewers qualified to interview Negro respondents, all the interviewing in Bridgeport was completed by one interviewer. Interviewing of Negro respondents in each of the other three cities was completed by groups of at least six to eight interviewers. The Bridgeport interviewer, for example, was more prone than most other interviewers to interpret responses as appropriately recorded in the "mixed," "ambivalent," and "qualified" categories of response and somewhat less prone quickly to accept "don't know" for a final answer. Furthermore, in questions that technically asked for one response but actually allowed for the recording of several response categories, the Bridgeport interviewer was more diligent in pressing the respondent for a single category of response. Each of the "biases" in recording answers resulted, it would seem, from a more diligent and literal application of the formal instructions to interviewers rather than from outright error.

Distributions of the Negro responses in Bridgeport in a few of the tables markedly deviate from the distribution of Negro responses in the other three cities, but this cannot, on the face of it, be taken as evidence of invalidity. Some part of the deviation in responses to certain questions results from the deviant distribution of those parameters in the population of Bridgeport Negroes. There are important distinguishing socio-economic traits of Bridgeport Negroes that are reflected in their characteristic distribution of responses. For example, it is likely that some substantial part of the deviant response distributions of Bridgeport Negroes in the tables presented in Chapter Four results from the substantially different pattern of housing segregation of Negroes in Bridgeport. Furthermore, a larger sample error may account for some indeterminate part of these deviations. The Negro subsample in Bridgeport (N = 75) is the smallest of the Negro samples among the four cities; all other Negro samples exceed 100 cases. Therefore, a larger sample error resulting from the smaller subsample size would account for some of the observed deviation for certain statistics. These considerations are sustained throughout the description and interpretation of these data.

About the Tables

Each table is shown by city and, within each city, by Negro and white race. Orientals and "others" included in the samples were too few for separate analysis and were excluded from the breakdowns by race. The Orientals are included, however, in the summation ("all") column for each of the four cities. This accounts for the slight differences in the sums of the white and Negro columns and the summation column in several cities. Similar urban surveys that focus on community issues of race and schools frequently show separate categories of responses for Puerto Rican born respondents. However, Puerto Rican born respondents are not shown here as a separate category. (Most Puerto Rican born respondents in these samples are classified as white; only four percent are classified as Negro.) First, there were too few Puerto Rican born respondents in each city sample to make a separate analysis; 44 Puerto Rican born adult respondents were included in the Bridgeport sample and twelve or fewer in the other three cities, which is proportionate to their representation in the populations. Second, it is questionable whether a separate analysis or an analysis that excludes Puerto Rican respondents would be appropriate for community analyses where Puerto Ricans are a very small proportion of the populations. Mainly because of residential segregation and low socio-economic status, Puerto Ricans tend to be affected by de facto school segregation in the ways similar to those affecting Negroes. On issues of public opinion, however, Puerto Ricans tend to resemble the larger population having the same racial and socio-economic traits. In a sociological sense, it is only the relative recency of Puerto Rican migration to the mainland and the incomplete cultural and linguistic assimilation into the larger community that distinguishes Puerto Ricans from the 18 percent to 27 percent of the respondents that are foreign born and who are also included in the samples.

The total numbers of cases shown in the total rows vary from table to table for three reasons: (1) On nearly every variable a few respondents did not answer the question for various reasons. However, these omissions tend to be "random" and do not affect the distribution of responses, and are therefore omitted. (2) Many questions were purposefully asked only of certain respondents, such as parents of school-age children or respondents who had replied "no" to a previous question. Cases for which the questions were inapplicable are not accounted for in the total rows. (3) Despite thorough pretesting, a few questions in the interview schedule elicited an unexpected number of "don't know" responses. "Don't know" is ordinarily considered a legitimate response category on issues of public opinion and included in the percentage distributions. However, in certain instances when the "don't know" response was so large as to indicate a general lack of information on the issue and, especially, when its size varied widely among samples and subsets, the category was excluded in the percentage distribution in order to made the replies of respondents who had an "informed" opinion more comparable. This, in effect, is an ex post facto application of the procedure in public opinion polling called "filtering." Respondents are first tested or asked if they know enough about an issue to express an opinion and then opinions are reported only of those who are judged capable to express a reasonably informed opinion.

The typographical device of italics is used to indicate several things in the headings and stems of the tables: (1) In the table headings, italics indicate the exact wording of questions addressed to respondents, if any. (2) In the stems, italics indicate response categories and portions of response categories that were added in the process of office-coding open-ended and "other" responses where the nature of the "other" response was recorded.

Chapter Three

NEGRO MIGRATION TO CONNECTICUT CENTRAL CITIES

The major urban and social problems of the central city--schools, housing, unemployment, and poverty--are closely associated with the rapidly changing racial composition of the central city in the United States and the polarization of the races and socio-economic groups between the inner cities and suburbs. The continuing trends of suburbanization and the decrease in central city populations that characterize many middle-sized cities especially in the North and the West,are also apparent in Connecticut. Two demographic processes are basic to the patterns of changing and declining central-city populations: (1) the in-migration of rural Negroes from the Deep South to the central city and (2) the out-migration of whites to the suburbs.

Chapter Three examines the major characteristics of this in-migration from interview reports of personal histories. These dual processes are directly and indirectly related to the creation and maintenance of de facto-segregated social institutions, insofar as these structures are a reflection of the ecological, demographic, and economic structure of the community. Chapter Four focuses on the second part of the two-fold process of change and examines neighborhood conditions antecedent to neighborhood disruption, change, and the out-migration of whites to the suburbs. These data are represented as typical for middle-sized metropolitan central cities in the North and West. These differential characterizations of the four cities will provide the background for subsequent discussions of opinion and attitudes on race relations in the community, the educational institutions, de facto school segregation, and bussing proposals to alleviate racial imbalance in the public schools.

National Migration Trends and the Case of Connecticut

Between 1940 and 1967, about four million Negroes left the South, mostly from rural areas and migrated to the cities of the North and West. For the country as a whole, employment in agriculture dropped 3.2 million between 1950 and 1966,largely as a consequence of technological changes in agriculture. Ex-farmers, many of them Negro, moved to the cities for jobs and homes. A million and a half left during the decade 1950-60. In 1960, 40 percent to 50 percent of the Negro populations in ten major Northern and Western cities were born in the South. These national trends are directly reflected in the particular demographic experience of Connecticut central cities.

For the country as a whole, Negro populations in urban areas rose from 10 percent in 1940 to over 20 percent in 1965, and this proportion was larger in the cities of the North and West. By 1970 at least ten cities over 100,000 will be 40 percent Negro and several others, such as Newark, Gary, and Richmond may be over 50 percent. Washington, D.C. is now about 60 percent. This trend will likely continue, although it is unlikely that any nearly all-black cities will result any time within the next several decades. The cases of the four Connecticut cities are typical. In 1968, it is estimated that the four central cities vary from roughly 10 percent (Waterbury) to 25 percent (Hartford) Negro and several of the cities have experienced large increases in the Negro populations since 1960.

While three of the four central cities experienced total population decreases in the 1950-1960 decade, ranging from 1.2 percent (Bridgeport) to 7.5 percent and 8.6 percent (New Haven and Hartford), their nonwhite populations nearly doubled or more than doubled. (For the state as a whole, Negroes comprised 96.4 percent of the nonwhite populations.) These nonwhite increases ranged from 97 percent in Hartford and Waterbury up to 131 percent in New Haven. For Connecticut as a whole, about 10 percent of the central city populations was nonwhite in 1960, ranging from 7 percent in Waterbury to approximately 15 percent in Hartford and New Haven. On the other hand, only 1 percent of the population in the SMSA suburban rings was nonwhite [Cf. Allen, Colfax, Stetler, 1965]. By April 1967, New Haven's nonwhite population, for example, had increased 48.4 percent in the seven year period since 1960, while the white population had declined 16.4 percent for an overall population loss of 6.8 percent. New Haven was 22.3 percent Negro in April 1967 [U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1967].

Suburbanization or the decentralization of central-city populations into the surrounding suburban areas has been an on-going process in American cities since the 1890's. Since 1920 the suburban rings surrounding American cities have been growing faster than the central cities themselves and the widespread use of the automobile after 1920 accelerated this trend. After World War II, the suburbanization process again accelerated. The migrants to the suburbs formerly were almost all middle-class whites. In recent decades, more affluent blue-collar whites, especially those with family incomes over $7,500, have fled the central cities, often creating working-class suburbs. In some cities, a few middle-class Negroes are beginning to move to suburban areas. Suburbs, however, are not entirely or even predominantly made up of former residents of the city. Many suburbanites settle directly in suburbs and many others have lived all their lives in the suburbs. Furthermore, many suburban communities were formerly independent local communities that fell under the influence and regional dominance of growing metropolitan communities and other sprawling suburban communities. Contrary to some popular images of suburban communities, suburbs are not all homogeneously middle-class white dormitory communities. Many suburban communities are mixed socioeconomic groupings and others have their own industrial bases and support their own labor forces, especially those that were formerly independent local communities. A fairly large metropolitan area typically will have a variety of different kinds of suburbs that, among themselves, tend to reflect the same kind of neighborhood variety found in the central cities.

Since 1950, most central cities over 100,000 in the North and West began to lose population at the same time the country's SMSA's were growing faster than the country as a whole. By 1970, 70 percent of the nation's population will live in SMSA's. Again the case of Connecticut is typical [Cf. Allen, Colfax, Stetler, 1965]. While three of the four Connecticut central cities lost total population, all the suburban rings increased from nearly 50 percent to over 58 percent in the 1950-60 decade. In the same period, the SMSA's grew from 17 percent to 29 percent. In 1960, more than three-quarters (78 percent) of Connecticut's population and 81 percent of its urban residents lived in the state's nine SMSA's. The state ranked eighth in the nation in the proportion of persons residing in SMSA's.

Socio-Economic Polarization

The many problems of metropolitan communities attendant to the dual processes of the in-migration of Negroes to the central cities and out-migration of whites are well known and frequently discussed in the literature of urban affairs. The absolute and relative size increases of the black ghettos in central cities are structurally related to many problems, such as de facto school segregation, but a wider range of problems is explainable in terms of socio-economic polarization between the inner cities and the suburbs that accompanies the polarization of color. The central cities, it is often observed, are becoming increasingly working-class as the middle class migrates to the suburbs. Central-city populations are increasingly composed of single adults, young marrieds without children, the elderly, and Negroes. Generally, it is becoming said that people who live in central cities are, on one hand, those who like cities, young singles, the childless, and possibly the elderly, *all of which tend to be* apartment dwellers and, on the other hand, people who simply cannot afford to migrate to the suburbs. However, recent national surveys suggest that even the childless and the elderly prefer the single-family dwellings of the suburbs. The increasing numbers of low-income residents in the central cities, who pay fewer taxes, also need more costly city services, such as welfare. As central-city real estate values and the tax base decline and municipal revenues correspondingly decrease, increasingly expensive services are demanded by a population that is becoming poorer; city costs rise as city income declines. In addition, some business firms located in the central cities recently show a preference to relocate in the suburbs, especially ones that hire mostly whites. As these firms follow the suburbanizing labor force, city tax bases and income declines even further.

Critics often point out that suburban communities seldom assume a civic responsibility toward the whole metropolitan community and often consider themselves to live "outside the city," spatially as well as morally removed from the problems of the inner city. The indifference of suburbanites to the manifold social and financial crises of the central cities is legendary. Suburbanites, who use the central city as a work place, as a shopping area, for cultural facilities and for other urban amenities are immune from its fiscal and social responsibilities. Suburbanites pay nothing for city utilities, streets, maintenance, garbage removal, fire and police protection--not even those servicing the urban facilities they use for work and pleasure. Suburbanites have, in effect, the best of both worlds but none of the disadvantages of either town or country life. Characteristically, public opinion in suburban communities is one of moral rectitude in what critics call abdication of moral responsibility of suburban communities to the central cities. Suburban communities are often indifferent, for example, to the central city problem of de facto school segregation which they themselves have helped to create through their abandonment of the central city and the resulting polarization of socio-economic groupings. The poor reception of various proposals to bus Negro children out of the ghettos of the inner city to suburban communities is a frequent example of suburban indifference to the crises of the inner city.

Negro Migration to Connecticut Central Cities

Personal history data collected by the four surveys illustrate the direct impact on Connecticut cities of Negro migration from the small-town and rural South. These data generally confirm trends apparent in recent Censuses but yield important additional information. These data show that the overwhelming majority of Negro adults in each city are migrants from the South. The regional origins of these adults should not be confused with characteristics for urban Negro populations as a whole, which includes younger persons and children. Between 69 percent (New Haven) to 84 percent (Bridgeport) of the adult Negro respondents over 20 years of age in the samples were born in the South; most of these were born in the eight states of the Deep South (Table 1.3.1). Only 12 percent (Waterbury and Bridgeport) to 21 percent *(New Haven) of the adult Negro respondents were born in the* New England region compared to half or more of the white adult respondents. Respondents of Puerto-Rican birth are seven percent of the sample of adults in Bridgeport, but less than three percent in each of the other cities. In Bridgeport, Hartford, and Waterbury, about a quarter of the white respondents are foreign-born; 18 percent of the New Haven whites are foreign-born. Half or more of the adult Negro respondents in each city were born either in rural areas or in small towns (Table 1.3.2). Thirty-four percent to 41 percent of the Negro samples were born in rural areas. Middle-sized cities, on the other hand, are the predominant places of birth for whites and these cities are often the cities of present residence.

Most of this Northward migration of rural and small-town Negro populations is relatively recent and generally uninterrupted by lengthy residences in other parts of the country. Table 1.3.3 shows that 50 percent to 67 percent of the Negro samples came directly to the Connecticut cities, having lived in the South, usually the Deep South, immediately prior to migrating to Connecticut. Ten percent to 21 percent had lived elsewhere in New England, including Connecticut, before settling in these cities.

TABLE 1.3.1

REGION OF BIRTH IN CONTINENTAL U.S., PUERTO RICAN BIRTH, AND FOREIGN BIRTH

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
New England	49.0	12.0	44.3	55.9	17.9	48.5	59.3	21.2	51.8	66.1	11.8	62.9
Middle Atlantic	17.1	2.7	15.2	9.5	5.7	8.7	11.6	8.1	10.9	8.0	6.6	7.6
East North Central	0.8	0.0	0.7	1.4	0.8	1.2	2.8	0.0	2.2	0.0	2.9	0.5
West North Central	0.6	0.0	0.5	0.4	0.0	0.3	1.4	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.7	0.0
South (Border)	0.9	5.3	1.5	1.2	1.6	1.2	2.6	6.1	3.2	0.0	0.7	0.0
South (Deep)	0.4	78.7	10.1	1.7	70.7	15.0	0.9	62.6	12.4	0.2	76.5	4.8
Mountain	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Pacific	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Foreign born	23.1	0.0	20.4	26.7	3.2	22.3	18.1	2.0	15.8	24.9	0.0	23.2
Puerto Rican born	8.2	1.3	7.3	2.7	0.0	2.2	2.8	0.0	2.2	0.8	0.7	1.0
N	527	75	603	517	123	641	430	99	533	389	136	418

TABLE 1.3.2

POPULATION SIZE OF BIRTHPLACE AT CENSUS NEAREST BIRTH DATE

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 2,500 and farm	13.1	40.5	16.7	17.4	35.5	21.1	9.0	34.0	14.0	12.0	41.2	14.0
2,500 to 9,999	11.7	20.3	12.8	10.7	16.5	11.9	6.4	15.5	8.2	10.0	16.8	11.1
10,000 to 24,999	5.9	12.2	6.7	8.6	8.3	8.5	4.4	7.2	4.9	4.5	8.4	4.4
25,000 to 49,999	7.8	9.5	8.0	6.9	3.3	6.2	4.1	2.1	3.7	19.8	4.6	18.4
50,000 to 99,999	6.1	2.7	5.7	20.0	5.8	17.1	10.1	10.3	10.1	42.3	14.5	40.9
100,000 to 249,999	40.1	12.2	36.4	22.1	24.0	22.4	46.4	22.7	41.6	3.6	5.3	3.4
250,000 to 499,999	3.3	2.7	3.2	3.8	4.1	3.9	2.8	2.1	2.7	2.8	2.3	2.6
500,000 to 999,999	2.5	0.0	2.1	2.1	0.0	1.7	4.4	1.0	3.7	1.4	1.5	1.3
1,000,000 or more	9.6	0.0	8.3	8.4	2.5	7.2	12.4	5.2	11.1	3.6	5.3	3.9
N*	489	74	563	476	121	597	388	97	486	359	131	386

*A relatively heavy seven percent "no answer" rate, which is mainly concentrated among foreign-born whites, resulted from uncodable responses, usually place names that could not be located and assigned a size category. However, it is believed that most such "no answers" are rural and village places.

TABLE 1.3.3

REGION OF RESIDENCE OF ONE YEAR OR MORE IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO MOVING TO PRESENT CONNECTICUT CITY

(If respondent has lived elsewhere than present city)

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
New England	45.7	20.6	40.8	60.0	17.4	51.1	52.9	20.4	43.2	68.9	10.2	60.3
Middle Atlantic	18.6	14.7	17.7	10.6	15.2	11.4	13.2	25.0	16.0	8.9	10.2	6.9
East North Central	2.3	2.9	2.4	2.8	4.3	3.1	5.0	2.3	4.7	2.2	0.0	1.7
West North Central	0.8	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	1.2	0.0	2.6	0.0
South (Border)	0.0	2.9	0.6	2.8	0.0	2.6	7.4	6.8	7.1	0.0	2.6	0.0
South (Deep)	0.0	55.9	11.6	2.8	63.1	15.0	5.0	43.2	14.8	6.6	64.1	17.2
Mountain	2.3	2.9	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Pacific	1.6	0.0	1.2	1.7	0.0	1.3	2.5	2.3	2.4	0.0	2.6	1.7
Foreign & Puerto Rico	28.7	0.0	22.6	19.4	0.0	15.4	10.7	0.0	9.5	13.3	7.7	12.1
N	129	34	164	180	46	227	121	44	169	45	39	58

Next to the South and New England regions, the Middle-Atlantic States is the region next most likely to have been the place of residence for Negroes just prior to settling in one of the four Connecticut cities. In New Haven, a relatively large 25 percent of the Negroes lived somewhere in the Middle-Atlantic region just prior to moving to Connecticut. Table 1.3.4, which shows the region where respondents lived longest if they have ever lived in another region for a year or more, confirms the one-way non-stop pattern of migration suggested above: well over half of the Negroes in each city report having lived longest in the South, again followed by New England and the Middle-Atlantic States. This pattern of migration is confirmed in Table 1.3.5. Seventy-six percent to 91 percent of the Negroes who have lived elsewhere than in the city of current residence have lived in only one other place. Generally, whites have been more geographically mobile, having more often lived in two, three, or four or more other communities.

Summary

The national trend of heavy Negro migration from the rural South to the central cities of the North and West is reflected in these Connecticut data. Most Negro adults in Connecticut cities were born in rural areas of the Deep South and migrated directly to their present Connecticut communities, having little experience with living in other parts of the country.

TABLE 1.3.4

REGION OF RESIDENCE FOR LONGEST PERIOD

(If respondent has lived for one year or more elsewhere than present city)

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
New England	51.5	28.6	47.0	60.3	21.7	52.2	53.7	22.2	44.1	75.6	17.9	72.4
Middle Atlantic	14.6	11.4	13.8	7.3	10.9	8.0	12.4	22.2	14.7	11.1	7.7	8.6
East North Central	0.8	2.8	1.2	2.8	4.3	3.1	7.4	2.2	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
West North Central	0.8	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.4	3.3	0.0	2.4	0.0	2.6	0.0
South (Border)	0.0	2.8	0.6	3.4	0.0	2.6	6.6	8.9	7.1	2.2	5.1	1.7
South (Deep)	0.0	51.4	10.8	1.7	63.1	14.2	5.0	42.2	14.7	0.0	61.5	6.9
Mountain	0.8	2.8	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Pacific	0.8	0.0	0.6	2.2	0.0	1.8	0.8	0.0	0.6	0.0	2.6	1.7
Foreign & Puerto Rico	30.8	0.0	24.1	21.8	0.0	17.7	9.9	2.2	9.4	11.1	2.6	8.6
N	130	35	166	179	46	226	121	45	170	45	39	58

TABLE 1.3.5

NUMBER OF DIFFERENT OTHER COMMUNITIES PREVIOUSLY LIVED IN FOR ONE YEAR OR MORE

(If respondent has lived for one year or more elsewhere than present city)

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
One other place	82.8	82.9	82.8	61.1	91.3	67.0	60.3	75.6	64.1	60.0	79.5	63.6
Two other places	9.4	14.3	10.4	28.3	4.3	23.8	25.6	17.8	22.9	31.1	17.9	29.1
Three other places	3.9	2.9	3.7	6.1	4.3	5.7	11.6	4.4	9.4	6.7	2.6	5.5
Four or more places	3.9	0.0	3.1	4.5	0.0	3.5	2.5	2.2	3.6	2.2	0.0	1.8
N	128	35	163	180	46	227	121	45	170	45	39	55

Chapter Four

NEIGHBORHOOD STABILITY AND CHANGE

Chapter Four focuses on various conditions antecedent to the second part of the dual demographic process of change--the migration of whites to the suburbs that accounts for some part of the continually declining central city populations and increasing suburban populations. In the case of Connecticut, whites who leave the central city sometimes leave the metropolitan area altogether, moving to other cities or semi-rural and suburban areas outside the SMSA. First, we shall examine respondents' residential and geographical mobility within the central city as an index to the relative stability of urban neighborhoods. Second, we shall examine respondents' perceptions of their neighborhood area, their level of satisfaction with their present neighborhoods, how they perceive these neighborhoods to be changing, and their plans for future geographic mobility in response to neighborhood change.

These data do not describe particular neighborhoods or particular kinds of neighborhoods in the four cities but are cross-sectional for the entire municipal areas. However, the range of responses in which variations occur between neighborhoods is clearly suggested by these data. Rates of response to particular questions varies widely from neighborhood especially among the white subsamples. To the extent that most Negroes live in homogeneously Negro and low socio-economic status neighborhoods, the rates of response among the Negro subsamples resembles the actual range of response and behavior in predominantly Negro neighborhoods. This will be less true for the white subsamples, because whites live in neighborhoods having widely varied socio-economic compositions and life styles. All-white or nearly all-white neighborhoods vary from relatively wealthy upper middle-class sections of the city to homogeneously working-class areas.

Conceptions of Neighborhood Area

Various objective measures of urban neighborhood spatial area delimitation are feasible, such as certain "natural areas" of the city demarcated by major traffic arteries or topographical characteristics or objectively noted areas that are socio-economically homogeneous. In this case, the respondent's subjective idea of the neighborhood area was chosen as the criterion of the relevant spatial area in terms of which to address questions about neighborhood change. Respondents were asked, "In terms of the streets and blocks around here, how much area around your home here do you consider to be in your neighborhood?" Responses to this question not only indicate the size of the area in the subjective neighborhood, but was intended also to raise the salience and fix the referent of "neighborhood" in the respondent's mind so that replies to subsequent series of questions about the "neighborhood" would have greater comparability and interpretability. Although not presented here, responses to this question show that most respondents think of their neighborhood as an area from one to five blocks around their home; the one-block area was most frequently mentioned. In Hartford and New Haven, Negroes conceive of the neighborhood as a smaller area than whites, but no such differences obtain in either Bridgeport or Waterbury. No particular significance is attached to this latter observation and it may merely reflect different patterns of housing segregation and other ecological traits of the four cities.

Intra-City Mobility and Neighborhood Stability

Important objective indexes of neighborhood stability are the amount of home ownership and the extent of "turnover" of residents in the neighborhood. Table 1.4.1 shows the proportion in each city who rent their homes and suggests that most residents are relatively free to move insofar as there is no commitment to home ownership. Forty-six percent (Waterbury) to 70 percent (Hartford) of whites rent their homes, the rest owning their homes. Home ownership among whites is from two to four times as high as that among Negroes. Eighty-three percent (Waterbury) to 91 percent (Bridgeport) of Negroes rent their homes.

That most central city residents rent their homes and the implications for potential geographic mobility are reflected in the extent to which residents have moved about within the central city area in recent years. Table 1.4.2 shows the number of residences in the municipality other than the present address where residents have lived during the 1956-66 period. Some indeterminate proportion of the 44 to 56 percent who have lived in no other residence within the city during the ten-year period had, in fact, lived in other residences outside the city during that period. Therefore, these data are an understatement of the actual amount of geographic mobility but they are instructive to illustrate the relatively high rate of mobility for central city residents; probably at least half or more of the residents have moved within the prior decade. Forty percent to 50 percent of the whites have lived elsewhere in the city during the ten-year period and a substantial number of these have lived at two or more other local addresses. Considering that some indeterminate proportion of these whites have, in fact, lived elsewhere outside the city, it can be reasonably concluded that the majority of whites in each of the cities recently have been geographically mobile. Approximately three-quarters of the Negro populations have lived elsewhere within the same city during the ten-year period. Considering the high rate of Negro in-migration from the South, it can be reasonably concluded that very few Negroes have been living in the same residence for ten years or more.

TABLE 1.4.1

OWNERSHIP OR RENTAL OF PRESENT RESIDENCE

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Owns or buying	39.1	9.3	35.5	27.3	15.4	25.0	38.4	14.3	33.9	49.0	15.3	46.7
Rents	58.6	90.7	62.5	70.2	84.6	73.0	58.3	85.7	63.5	45.9	83.2	48.6
Other arrangement	2.3	0.0	2.0	2.5	0.0	2.0	3.2	0.0	2.6	5.1	1.5	4.8
N	527	75	603	520	123	644	431	99	534	390	137	419

TABLE 1.4.2

NUMBER OF OTHER RESIDENCES IN CITY DURING DECADE PRIOR TO 1966

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None*	49.4	27.4	46.8	49.1	21.1	43.7	54.4	27.6	49.6	59.7	25.2	56.1
One	22.2	31.5	23.2	24.5	26.0	24.9	22.3	19.4	21.8	25.1	29.6	25.5
Two	14.6	17.8	15.0	11.6	20.3	13.2	10.5	21.4	12.4	6.2	22.2	7.2
Three	8.1	13.7	8.8	6.2	16.3	8.1	7.2	12.2	8.1	4.4	14.1	5.5
Four	2.3	5.5	2.6	4.6	8.9	5.4	3.0	12.2	4.7	1.8	5.2	2.4
Five	1.9	2.7	2.0	1.5	3.2	1.9	0.9	2.0	1.1	1.0	1.5	1.2
Six	0.2	0.0	0.2	1.2	0.8	1.1	0.5	2.0	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.7
Seven	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.8	0.3	0.5	1.0	0.6	0.2	1.5	0.5
Eight	0.6	1.4	0.7	0.0	1.6	0.3	0.2	1.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Nine or more	0.6	0.0	0.5	1.2	0.8	1.1	0.5	1.0	0.6	0.8	0.0	0.7
N	528	73	602	519	123	643	430	98	532	387	135	415

*Some undeterminable number of respondents shown as having no other residence within the city during prior decade had other residences outside the city during that period.

Larger proportions of Negroes than whites have lived in two, three, four, and five other residences within the city. Some part of this mobility for whites and, especially, for Negroes probably has been within the same neighborhoods and not to new neighborhoods. That is, residents may have moved once or several times but did not leave the neighborhood. This would be particularly true for Negroes who have more structural constraints than whites on living in one or few areas of the city. This picture of high geographic mobility within central cities is in general agreement with similar studies in other cities in the North and West, some of which indicate that upwards to half of the central city residents have moved within a prior period as short as five years.

This picture of high geographic mobility for Negroes and whites is rounded out with data indicating how many years residents have lived at their present address among those who have lived one or more other places within the municipality during the ten-year period (Table 1.4.3). Twenty-five percent to 40 percent have lived at the present address only for about a year. Twenty-two percent (Waterbury) to about a third of the mobile whites in each of the other cities have lived at their present address only for about a year. About three-quarters of the whites have lived at their present address for five years or less. Twenty-six percent (Waterbury) to 51 percent (Hartford) of the mobile Negroes have lived at the present address for only about a year, which exceeds the corresponding proportion for whites in each city except Bridgeport.

People move within a city for various reasons. In recent years, many urban residents, especially Negroes, have been relocated by extensive urban renewal and highway construction in several of the cities. Others, especially renters, may move because of financial considerations, to obtain more space, in response to changed personal situations, to be nearer to work, etc. Whether mobile residents are renters or owners, moving often results in moving into a neighborhood having different socio-economic characteristics. Most people, if they have a choice, presumably prefer to improve their circumstances by moving to a "better" neighborhood.

Data are available from the surveys that show the proportions of the movers who moved into new neighborhoods having different socio-economic characteristics (Table 1.4.4). The rating criteria for the socio-economic status of neighborhoods is the percent of white-collar residents in Census tracts [U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1961b]. In this usage of "neighborhood," we refer to areas of the municipalities that correspond to Census tracts. Census tracts denote areas of the city that are roughly homogeneous for various socio-economic traits. White-collar workers are defined here as the U.S. Census occupational categories of (1) professional, technical, and kindred workers, (2) managers, officials, and proprietors, (3) clerical and kindred workers, and (4) sales workers. A change in neighborhood status resulting from the move is defined as an increase of more than five percent in white-collar residents; "no change" is defined as a change of less than five percent in either direction.

TABLE 1.4.3

YEARS LIVED AT PRESENT ADDRESS

(If has lived at any other residence in city during decade prior to 1966:)
"How long have you lived here at this address?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
One year	32.5	32.7	32.5	34.3	41.2	36.4	35.6	51.4	40.1	22.3	26.5	25.0
Two years	18.5	14.5	17.8	14.0	15.5	14.3	10.8	18.1	12.7	13.4	15.7	12.5
Three years	14.0	12.7	13.7	9.1	12.4	9.9	15.5	6.9	13.1	14.6	12.7	14.1
Four years	6.8	14.5	8.1	9.1	6.2	8.3	11.9	8.3	10.9	10.8	13.7	10.9
Five years	10.9	9.1	10.6	9.4	10.3	9.6	5.7	4.2	5.2	10.2	6.9	10.3
Six years	5.7	7.3	5.9	4.9	4.1	4.7	5.2	2.8	4.5	7.0	7.8	7.1
Seven years	4.2	3.6	4.1	6.4	6.2	6.3	6.7	2.8	5.6	7.6	3.9	7.1
Eight years	4.2	5.5	4.4	8.3	2.1	6.6	5.2	4.2	4.9	6.4	5.9	5.4
Nine years or more	3.4	0.0	2.8	4.5	2.1	3.9	3.6	1.4	3.0	7.6	6.9	7.6
N	265	55	320	265	97	363	194	72	267	157	102	184

TABLE 1.4.4

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE IN RESPONDENT'S NEIGHBORHOOD STATUS RESULTING FROM LAST MOVE

(If has lived at any other residence in city during decade prior to 1966)

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Increase	36.3	24.0	34.3	38.6	44.8	40.2	38.5	17.1	32.6	44.4	17.9	41.6
No change	42.2	54.0	44.1	44.9	26.0	39.9	36.8	47.1	39.8	30.1	57.4	33.9
Decrease	21.6	22.0	21.7	16.4	29.2	19.8	24.7	35.7	27.6	25.5	24.8	24.4
N	256	50	306	256	96	353	190	70	261	153	101	180

These data must be loosely interpreted because Census tracts designate large areas of the city and certain tracts are more heterogeneous in socioeconomic traits than others. Furthermore, the criterion of percent white-collar was based on 1960 Census data. Estensive highway construction and urban renewal in each of these cities occurred between 1960 and 1966. The resulting relocation of residents disportionately affected Negro households. This and other factors involved would necessitate an extensive further analysis of these data before it can be determined to what extent there are differences in white and Negro social mobility chances. However, these data suggest the broad outlines of social-mobility directions for households in each of the cities and rough comparative data for the Negro and white populations.

Thirty-four percent to 44 percent of the moves resulted in "no change" in neighborhood status and some indeterminate proportion of these moves were within the same Census tract. About a third of the movers in Bridgeport and New Haven and over 40 percent of the movers in Hartford and Waterbury improved their neighborhood status by the move. On the other hand, a fifth to about a quarter of the movers in each city resulted in a decline of neighborhood status. Larger proportions of whites than Negroes improved their neighborhood status by the move in three of the cities although this was reversed in Hartford. In Hartford and New Haven, substantially larger proportions of Negroes than whites moved to neighborhoods that represented a decrease in neighborhood status. Among white respondents, 16 percent (Hartford) to about 25 percent (New Haven and Waterbury) moved to neighborhoods that represented a decrease in neighborhood status.

Satisfaction With Present Neighborhood

Respondents were asked their perceptions of how their neighborhood was changing in recent years and whether they were satisfied with their present neighborhood. About 45 percent (Hartford and New Haven) to 54 percent (Bridgeport and Waterbury) of the whites thought their neighborhoods had stayed about the same (Table 1.4.5). From 11 percent (New Haven) to 19 percent (Waterbury) of the whites reported that their neighborhoods were getting better. On the other hand, 21 percent (Waterbury) to 38 percent (New Haven) of the whites felt their neighborhoods were getting worse. In each city, substantially larger proportions of Negroes than whites felt that their neighborhoods were getting worse. Thirty-two percent of Waterbury Negroes to well over 40 percent of the Negroes in the other cities thought their neighborhoods had gotten worse. This negative assessment among whites and Negroes is most pronounced in Hartford and New Haven, while Bridgeport and Waterbury respondents seem generally more content with their present neighborhood.

TABLE 1.4.5

PERCEIVED DIRECTION OF RECENT CHANGE IN NEIGHBORHOOD QUALITY

"In general, do you think this neighborhood is getting better, staying about the same, or getting worse?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Getting better	14.6	13.5	14.5	15.4	13.0	14.9	11.3	9.0	10.7	19.3	12.4	19.6
Staying about the same	53.7	37.8	51.7	43.5	30.9	41.1	45.4	41.0	44.7	54.5	50.4	53.6
Getting worse	23.5	43.2	25.9	30.0	43.1	32.5	38.0	46.0	39.4	20.8	32.1	21.8
Don't know	8.2	5.4	8.0	11.2	13.0	11.5	5.3	4.0	5.2	5.4	5.1	5.0
N	527	74	602	520	123	644	431	100	535	389	137	418

Considering the substantial proportions of residents who think their neighborhoods are deteriorating, we would expect to find a low level of satisfaction with living in the neighborhood. The data fully confirm this expectation. Thirty and 35 percent (Waterbury and Bridgeport) to 38 and 41 percent (New Haven and Hartford) of the whites say that, if they had a choice, they would move out of their present neighborhood (Table 1.4.6.). Substantially larger proportions of Negroes than whites are inclined to say they would leave their neighborhood, if they had a choice. In each city, half again to twice as many Negroes as whites said they would move--over half of the Negroes in each city expressed this wish. Negroes, the group who are least likely to achieve a better neighborhood setting when they move, are the group that are most dissatisfied with their present neighborhood. These data moreover suggest a substantial potential for whites to abandon their present neighborhoods. Whether these sentiments among whites actually portend a move completely out of the central city to the suburbs is examined in a later section.

Respondents who expressed a desire to move out of their neighborhoods were asked to specify the exact reason why they wanted to move. For the samples as a whole, the most frequently cited reasons, and usually in this order of frequency for each of the cities, were (1) various suburban amenities, mainly space, yards, and certain advantages associated with suburban living, (2) the search for better, usually more spacious housing, and (3) socially deteriorating neighborhoods (Table 1.4.7). Roughly a similar pattern of reasons obtains for whites and Negroes in each of the cities, but there are some important differences between the two groups. In each city, except Waterbury, Negroes were more apt than whites to mention socially deteriorating neighborhoods, such as getting "too rough." In Bridgeport and Hartford, Negroes were somewhat more apt than whites to mention wanting to leave "for the children's sake," which might be another way of expressing the social deterioration of the area. Whites more often than Negroes mentioned racially and ethnically changing neighborhoods as the reason for wanting to leave; five percent to 11 percent of the whites specifically mentioned racially changing neighborhoods. Next to references to various suburban and rural amenities, housing was the most important reason given among whites in each city. And, again with the exception of Waterbury, larger proportions of Negroes than whites mentioned the search for better housing as the reason for wanting to move. These data tend to bear out research in other urban areas that indicates most people's dissatisfactions with central city living centers around problems of housing, space, and a more desirable environment in which to rear children. Actually, there were relatively few references among whites to racially and ethnically changing neighborhoods as the stated reason for wanting to leave the neighborhood. However, such considerations may be encompassed in references to other reasons, such as socially and physically deteriorating neighborhoods.

TABLE 1.4.6

SATISFACTION WITH LIVING IN PRESENT NEIGHBORHOOD

"If you had your choice, would you continue living in this neighborhood?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Yes	62.9	48.0	61.0	56.3	36.6	52.5	59.4	38.4	55.4	68.9	37.2	66.7
No	34.6	52.0	36.9	41.2	61.0	45.0	38.3	61.6	42.5	30.1	58.4	32.3
Don't know	2.5	0.0	2.2	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.3	0.0	2.1	1.0	4.4	1.0
N	526	75	602	520	123	644	431	99	534	389	137	418

TABLE 1.4.7

REASON RESPONDENT WANTS TO LEAVE PRESENT NEIGHBORHOOD

(If dissatisfied with present neighborhood:) *"What would you say is the main reason you would like to move out of this neighborhood if you could?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Seek better or different schools	2.2	0.0	1.8	0.5	1.3	0.7	3.7	0.0	2.7	0.0	1.3	0.0
Neighborhood racially-ethnically changing composition: invasion by Negroes and Puerto Ricans, and any other references to incoming minority groups, especially in a negative context.	5.0	0.0	4.1	9.5	2.7	7.6	11.0	0.0	8.0	8.7	3.8	7.5
Neighborhood socially deteriorating, but no specific reference to Negroes and Puerto Ricans; getting too "rough", undesirable "class" of people, unsafe for children, seeks "friendlier" neighbors, just "better" neighborhood, but no reference to physical condition of neighborhood.	12.2	23.1	14.2	14.9	24.0	17.3	17.7	31.7	21.8	13.9	13.9	14.3

TABLE 1.4.7 - Continued

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Neighborhood physically deteriorating: too many people or overcrowding, becoming rundown, too "commercial," and similar references.	8.3	17.9	10.0	4.0	6.7	4.7	12.8	13.3	12.9	8.7	17.7	9.8
Seeks better housing, less crowding, needs more space, get out of apartment, get a house, etc.	25.6	33.3	26.9	22.9	24.0	23.1	18.9	21.7	19.6	26.1	22.8	25.6
"For children's sake," but specific reason not stated.	2.2	10.3	3.7	6.5	13.3	8.7	3.0	1.7	2.7	3.5	1.3	3.0
Prefers countrified, rural-suburban amenities, trees, grass, bigger yard, privacy, fresh air, cleaner, healthier, quieter, less "confusion," more "relaxing," less traffic, fewer children (who are bothersome), etc. Also closer to friends, relatives, etc.	31.1	12.8	27.9	28.9	25.3	27.8	25.0	26.7	25.3	29.6	27.8	30.1

TABLE 1.4.7 - Continued

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Nearer to work, better transportation, better business opportunities, less rent, less taxes, and other economic-occupation related reasons.	7.8	2.6	6.8	7.5	2.7	6.1	3.7	1.7	3.1	7.0	7.6	7.5
Some reason not classifiable above	5.6	0.0	4.6	5.5	0.0	4.0	4.3	3.3	4.0	2.6	3.8	2.3
N	180	39	219	201	75	277	164	60	225	115	79	133

Respondents were asked to estimate how many Negro families they thought were living in their neighborhood, however large they might conceive of that area around their house (Table 1.4.8). Thirty-five percent (New Haven) to about 56 percent (Hartford and Waterbury) of the whites said there were no Negro families in their neighborhoods. Sixteen percent (Hartford) to nearly 28 percent or more in the other cities said they thought there were some, but fewer than 20 percent; 5 percent to 10 percent thought there was between 20 and 40 percent of Negro households in the neighborhood; and slightly smaller proportions of whites in each city thought there were between 40 and 60 percent Negroes in their neighborhoods; only a few whites thought there were more than 60 percent. Of course, Negro perceptions were the opposite; 44 percent to 51 percent saying there were 80 percent to 100 percent Negroes in their neighborhoods. These data suggest that Negro and white perceptions of the racial compositions of their neighborhoods fairly accurately reflect the degree of segregated housing that exists in each community.

Respondents who indicated that they thought there were any Negroes in their neighborhood were next asked to assess whether, in the past five years, the number of Negro families was increasing, staying about the same, or decreasing (Table 1.4.9). With the exception of Waterbury, over half of the whites who consider themselves living in mixed neighborhoods thought that the number of Negro families was increasing, and this rises to 69 percent in New Haven. Fifty-seven to 86 percent of the Negroes thought the number of Negro families had increased; but it is problematic whether the Negro respondents perceived that their neighborhoods were simply becoming more homogeneously Negro (becoming more segregated) or whether the size of the ghetto was increasing through in-migration from outside the city.

The Negro Neighborhood. Several questions asked in the supplementary schedule administered only to Negro respondents, in addition to the regular schedule, yield information about beliefs and attitudes toward Negro neighborhoods among the Negro residents. First, respondents were asked how many Negroes they thought would like to move out of Negro neighborhoods and into other parts of the city (Table 1.4.10). More than eight out of ten in each city thought that 50 percent or less were interested in moving out of Negro neighborhoods. Forty-nine percent of Hartford Negroes estimated that a third to a half of the Negroes in the city were interested in moving and nearly as many (42 percent) in New Haven made the same estimation. Next, the respondents were asked what they thought was the main reason why Negroes wanted to move out of Negro neighborhoods (Table 1.4.11). The most frequent references were to bad housing, rough neighborhoods, poor public facilities, and a concern for children. Rough neighborhoods and bad housing were the most frequently mentioned categories in Hartford, New Haven, and Waterbury. In Bridgeport, the most frequent references were to poor public facilities, such as police and sanitation, rough neighborhoods, and a concern for children. That many Negroes could afford to move to a better neighborhood and wanted to move was also prominently mentioned.

TABLE 1.4.8

ESTIMATE OF PERCENTAGE NEGRO RESIDENTS IN PRESENT NEIGHBORHOOD

"How many Negro families would you estimate there are in this neighborhood ... would you say just a few, about 1 out of every ten, 2 out of every ten, 5 out of every ten, or just how many?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None	47.9	5.3	42.7	56.3	0.0	47.1	34.7	0.0	28.7	57.2	0.0	53.5
1 - 19 percent	26.5	8.0	24.2	15.8	4.9	12.1	28.4	7.2	24.1	27.6	5.8	26.6
20 - 39 percent	7.3	9.4	7.5	7.7	11.3	8.4	10.2	6.0	9.4	4.9	9.5	5.1
40 - 59 percent	6.3	16.0	7.5	7.3	19.5	9.6	8.9	24.2	11.7	3.3	19.7	3.9
60 - 79 percent	1.7	13.4	3.1	1.9	11.4	3.8	4.4	11.1	5.6	1.3	9.5	1.9
80 - 100 percent	3.3	44.0	8.4	1.2	43.9	9.3	5.4	48.5	13.4	1.5	51.1	5.3
Don't know	7.1	4.0	6.7	9.8	8.9	9.6	8.0	3.0	7.0	4.1	4.4	3.8
N	524	75	600	519	123	643	427	99	530	388	137	417

TABLE 1.4.9

PERCEPTION OF DIRECTION OF RACIAL COMPOSITION CHANGE IN PRESENT NEIGHBORHOOD

(If respondent estimated any Negro families in present neighborhood:) *"During the past five years, would you say that the number of Negro families in this neighborhood has increased, stayed about the same, or decreased?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Increased	51.3	85.9	58.6	55.9	58.9	56.7	69.3	56.8	65.8	41.1	65.4	42.9
Stayed about the same	35.8	12.7	31.0	29.7	17.9	26.0	21.5	16.8	20.7	48.5	23.8	46.1
Decreased	2.3	0.0	1.8	3.2	2.7	3.0	0.7	2.1	1.1	3.7	2.3	4.2
Don't know	10.6	1.4	8.6	11.3	20.5	14.3	8.5	24.2	12.5	6.7	8.5	6.8
N	265	71	336	222	112	335	270	95	368	163	130	191

TABLE 1.4.10

NEGRO RESPONDENTS' ESTIMATES OF PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES WANTING TO LEAVE PREDOMINATELY NEGRO NEIGHBORHOODS

*About how many Negroes here in * * * do you think would like to move out of Negro neighborhoods and into other parts of the city?*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0 - 25 percent	34.2	24.4	30.0	37.8
26 - 33 percent	28.8	10.0	13.8	14.3
34 - 50 percent	26.0	48.9	42.5	36.7
51 - 67 percent	4.1	7.8	1.2	4.1
68 - 75 percent	4.1	3.3	7.5	3.1
76 - 100 percent	2.7	5.6	5.0	4.1
N	73	90	80	98

TABLE 1.4.11

NEGRO RESPONDENTS' BELIEFS ABOUT REASONS WHY OTHER NEGROES WANT TO LEAVE PREDOMINATELY NEGRO NEIGHBORHOODS

"What do you think is the main reason why many Negroes want to move out of Negro neighborhoods?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total*	157.1	137.7	155.1	124.1
Bad housing	18.6	50.5	41.8	45.7
Inadequate public facilities--police, sanitation	40.0	10.7	12.1	8.6
Poor, overcrowded schools	8.6	4.8	8.8	1.7
Rough neighborhoods	37.1	32.0	48.4	34.5
Bad place to bring up children	32.8	11.6	13.2	9.5
They are successful and want to move to a better area	10.0	16.5	18.7	15.5
They want to integrate white neighborhoods	8.6	8.7	11.0	3.4
Other reasons	1.4	2.9	1.1	5.2
N**	70	103	91	116

[*] Totals exceed 100 percent because some respondents gave more than one reason.

[**] "Don't know" responses are omitted from base N.

Negro respondents were asked for their preferences for living in all-Negro neighborhoods or in integrated neighborhoods (Table 1.4.12). In each city, 83 percent to 87 percent said they preferred a mixed neighborhood whereas only 7 percent to 12 percent preferred an all-Negro neighborhood. When asked what proportion of residents in their neighborhood they would prefer to be Negro, 49 percent to 72 percent of the respondents mentioned the third to a half; up to a quarter was the next most frequently mentioned proportion (Table 1.4.13).

Satisfaction with Central-City Living

National surveys have shown that most urbanites wish for a single family dwelling with a yard and plenty of space that is well away from the center of things--in the suburbs. Data from these surveys show that dissatisfaction with central city living also is prevalent in Connecticut cities. Contrary to popular sociological literature of the 1950's, which portrayed the suburbs as asthetically unlovely, and suburbanites as conformistic, anxiety-ridden, and alienated, suburban living is, in fact, the realization of the American dream for many central-city residents. It is only in the suburbs that the American standard of the single-family dwelling with its own yard is attainable. Many central-city residents believe that the suburbs are a better place to rear children. Thus, it is often young married couples who flee to the suburbs when their children approach school-age. It is now generally acknowledged that the suburbs are no more conformistic than any small community and that suburbanites are actually healthier, happier, and better adjusted after moving to the suburbs. While there are important white-Negro differences in the satisfaction with present neighborhoods and the wish to move, possibly to the suburbs, the main attention here will be given to white respondents. Few Negroes, in fact, have migrated to the suburbs of these cities, although there are small enclaves of mainly middle-class Negro families in suburban areas of several Connecticut cities.

Early in the interview schedule, respondents were asked whether they were satisfied with living in the municipality or would they prefer living in the suburbs (Table 1.4.14). Two thirds (Hartford) to three quarters (New Haven and Waterbury) of the white respondents said they were satisfied with living in the municipality. Upwards to a quarter or more of the white respondents in each city, however, said they preferred to live in the suburbs. Only small proportions--about one percent--mentioned wanting to live in a different city altogether. These responses would not seem to indicate a high level of dissatisfaction with central-city living but when respondents were asked if they would be willing to move to the suburbs a very different picture emerged.

TABLE 1.4.12

NEGRO RESPONDENTS' PREFERENCES FOR LIVING IN ALL-NEGRO OR IN RACIALLY INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS

"If you had your choice, would you prefer to live in an all Negro neighborhood, or a neighborhood in which some of the people were Negro and some were white?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
All Negro	12.0	7.3	11.1	10.4
Mixed	86.7	82.9	83.8	82.8
Don't care, makes no difference	0.0	2.4	1.0	4.5
Don't know	1.3	7.3	4.0	2.2
N	75	123	99	134

TABLE 1.4.13

PERCENTAGE NEGROES IN NEGRO RESPONDENTS' IDEAL INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOOD

(If prefers to live in racially integrated neighborhood:) *"About how many of your neighbors would you like to be Negro?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0 - 25 percent	10.8	11.5	26.2	18.8
26 - 33 percent	7.7	4.8	4.8	4.3
34 - 50 percent	72.3	57.7	56.0	48.7
51 - 67 percent	9.2	1.9	1.2	3.4
68 - 75 percent	0.0	4.8	2.4	2.6
76 - 100 percent	0.0	3.8	0.0	5.1
Don't care, makes no difference	0.0	2.9	1.2	5.1
Prefers mixed, but makes no difference what percent Negro	0.0	8.7	8.3	9.4
Don't know	0.0	3.8	0.0	2.6
N	65	104	84	117

TABLE 1.4.14

PREFERENCE FOR CENTRAL CITY OR SUBURBAN LIVING

"Would you say you are satisfied with living here in the city limits, or would you prefer living in the suburbs?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Satisfied with central city	70.7	72.0	70.9	66.9	56.9	65.1	74.7	73.7	74.5	75.3	60.6	73.7
Prefers to live in suburbs or outside city	27.0	25.3	26.7	30.6	39.0	32.1	22.7	24.2	23.0	22.6	33.6	23.9
Prefers to live in altogether different city	1.1	1.3	1.2	1.0	2.4	1.2	1.6	0.0	1.3	1.5	5.1	1.9
Don't know	1.1	1.3	1.2	1.5	1.6	1.6	0.9	2.0	1.1	0.5	0.7	0.5
N	526	75	602	520	123	644	431	99	534	389	137	418

All respondents were asked if they would be willing to move out in the suburbs if a good opportunity presented itself (Table 1.4.15). These responses indicate a greater potential for whites moving to the suburbs. In each city, upwards to half or more of the whites said they would move to the suburbs if a good opportunity presented itself. Part of the discrepancy between the expressed attitudes in Tables 1.4.14 and 1.4.15 may have merely resulted from a certain resignation among some whites who said they were satisfied with living in the central city, possibly in adjustment to the real economic and structural constraints on their moving to the suburbs. In each city, except Bridgeport, substantially larger proportions of Negroes expressed a willingness to move to the suburbs if a good opportunity presented itself.

Those respondents who expressed a willingness to move if they had a chance were asked to say what was the most important reason for wanting to move to the suburbs (Table 1.4.16) The most frequent responses of whites were coded into the category containing references to various suburban-rural amenities such as more space, privacy, fresher air, and other such references. However, the next most frequently mentioned type of responses were coded to the category of "nearer to work, better transportation, better business opportunities, less rent, less taxes, and other economic-occupation-related reasons." About 15 percent of the whites in each city specifically mentioned the search for better housing, less crowding, more space, and the wish to get out of an apartment and to obtain a single-family dwelling. Of course, the full complex of reasons for wanting to move to the suburbs is difficult to collect as survey data and this is reflected in the diffuse categories of response expressed by most of the respondents. Most persons who want to escape the city have complex and manifold collections of reasons that are difficult systematically to articulate. Generally, however, most whites want to obtain that cluster of advantages usually associated with suburban living and these seem to center around considerations of housing, space, nearness to work, and the greater attractiveness and supposedly better life in the general sense of suburban living.

It is important to note, however, that very few whites specifically cited racially and ethnically changing neighborhoods as the main reason for wanting to escape the city. Nor did many white respondents refer to other kinds of neighborhood change. For example, very few respondents referred to their present neighborhood as simply becoming run-down, becoming too "commercial," etc. An overall impression emerges that most whites who want to move to the suburbs are motivated by the attractions of suburbia rather than by a repulsion with city living. But whatever reasons are given the most basic question of how many people will in fact move or plan to move in the near future is not answered.

All respondents were next asked whether they had any actual plans to move outside the city limits within the next few years (Table 1.4.17). Twelve percent (Waterbury) to 18 and 19 percent (Hartford and New Haven)of the whites said they did have actual plans to move within the next few years.

TABLE 1.4.15

WILLINGNESS TO MOVE TO SUBURBS

"If a good opportunity presented itself, would you move (farther) out in the suburbs?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Yes	46.3	49.3	46.6	51.7	72.4	55.6	47.3	60.6	49.6	48.7	70.8	50.8
No	50.7	49.3	50.6	45.2	18.7	40.2	50.3	29.3	46.6	47.4	22.6	45.6
Don't know	3.0	1.3	2.8	3.1	8.9	4.2	2.3	10.1	3.7	3.9	6.6	3.6
N	525	75	601	518	123	642	431	99	534	388	137	417

TABLE 1.4.16

REASON GIVEN FOR WANTING TO MOVE TO SUBURBS

(If willing to move to suburbs:) *"Just what would you say is the most important reason for your wanting to move to the suburbs?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Seek better & different schools	2.2	0.0	1.9	0.4	2.3	0.9	6.6	3.4	5.8	1.7	2.2	1.5
Neighborhood racially-ethnically changing composition: invasion by Negroes & Puerto Ricans, & any other references to incoming minority groups, especially in a negative context.	2.2	0.0	1.9	3.1	1.1	2.6	5.6	0.0	4.3	0.6	0.0	0.5
Neighborhood socially deteriorating, but no specific references to Negroes or Puerto Ricans: getting too "rough," undesirable "class" of people, unsafe for children, seeks "friendlier" neighbors, just a "better" neighborhood, but no reference to physical condition of neighborhood.	3.0	13.9	4.5	2.7	5.7	3.5	4.0	3.4	3.9	2.3	5.5	3.1

TABLE 1.4.16 - Continued

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Neighborhood physically deteriorating: becoming rundown, too "commercial," getting "crummy," and similar references.	1.3	2.8	1.5	2.0	0.0	1.5	4.5	5.1	4.7	2.9	4.4	2.6
Seeks better housing, less crowding, needs more space, get out of apartment, get a house, etc.	17.3	41.7	20.6	15.2	22.7	17.2	15.2	18.6	15.9	13.8	15.4	14.9
"For children's sake," but specific reason not stated.	6.5	13.9	7.5	9.4	21.6	12.5	3.5	11.9	5.4	8.0	12.1	8.7
Prefers countrified, rural-suburban amenities, trees, grass, bigger yard, privacy, fresh air, cleaner, healthier, quieter, less "confusion," more "relaxing," less traffic, fewer children (who are bothersome), etc. Also closer to friends and relatives, etc.	54.1	16.7	49.1	49.6	43.2	48.0	39.4	47.5	41.5	42.5	46.2	42.6

TABLE 1.4.16 - Continued

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Nearer to work, better transportation, better business opportunities, less rent, less taxes, and other economic-occupation-related reasons.	11.7	11.1	11.6	15.6	3.4	12.5	18.7	8.5	16.3	24.1	8.8	22.6
Some reason not classifiable above	1.7	0.0	1.5	2.0	0.0	1.5	2.5	1.7	2.3	4.0	5.5	3.6
N	231	36	267	256	88	344	198	59	258	174	91	195

TABLE 1.4.17

ACTUAL PLANS TO MOVE OUTSIDE CITY WITHIN NEXT FEW YEARS

"Do you have any actual plans to move outside the city limits within the next few years?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Yes	16.4	17.3	16.5	18.1	19.5	18.4	18.8	12.1	17.4	12.4	21.9	13.4
No	82.0	82.7	82.1	78.2	77.2	78.1	79.1	86.9	80.7	85.8	73.7	84.7
Don't know	1.5	0.0	1.3	3.7	3.3	3.6	2.1	1.0	1.9	1.8	4.4	1.9
N	523	75	599	519	123	643	430	99	533	388	137	417

As many as a fifth of Negro respondents in each of the four cities also say they are planning to move outside the city limits within the next few years. Plans to move, however, do not mean that people actually will move. These data show substantial expressed intention to leave the central city and objective data, such as the Census data cited in Chapter One, bear out the reality that many whites will leave the city.

Summary

The populations in each city are highly mobile within the municipality and have a high potential for migration to the suburbs. Mobility histories indicate that most Connecticut urbanites, most of whom are renters, have changed residences within the past decade. There is a general perception that neighborhoods are changing, usually for the worse. This assessment is reflected in a general willingness if not actual plans to leave the neighborhood and migrate to the suburbs. Expressed plans to leave the city among whites roughly correspond to the objective numbers that are leaving according to Census figures.

In the overview, we examined the effects of the emigration of Negroes from the rural and small-town South on the changing color composition of Connecticut central cities. This in-migration has far-reaching implications for contemporary urban problems far beyond those associated with racially imbalanced schools. One major implication of the in-migration of Negroes has been the problems of neighborhood stability and change and the related process of out-migration of whites from the central cities to the suburbs. These data suggest that the trend of central cities loosing over-all population and whites in particular had the full potential in 1966 of continuing and the 1970 Census is expected to bear out this.

Chapter Five

COMMUNITY RACE RELATIONS AND PUBLIC OPINION*

Chapters Five and Six describe climates of community opinion on inter-group relations and on education and educational institutions. The analysis of public opinion on inter-group relations and educational institutions in the community will provide a background for the examination in Chapters Seven and Eight of public opinion on two closely-related issue areas: (1) issues surrounding the structures of de facto-segregated public schools and (2) the issues surrounding various proposals to bus children within and out of the central city as a way of ameliorating segregated elementary schools in the ghettos of the inner city.

Public Attitudes and Inter-Racial Relations

Several questions from the surveys provide rough indexes to the levels of racial prejudice among whites in each of the cities. These data suggest the climates of opinion in which decision-making is made regarding race-related issues in the community. The Negro-white comparisons are instructive and provide an interpretive background for the opinions of the predominantly white populations. Important differences between the four communities that will evolve in the analysis of these data may explain some part of variable policies and decision-making on race-related issues.

The validity of survey data on attitudes of racial prejudice has been questioned by critics who believe that the general public has been deeply influencedin recent years to give socially acceptable or "normative" responses. Many public officials and politicians, especially in the North and West, have taken very vocal and adamant liberal positions on Civil Rights, and these repetitive expressions of official morality may influence answers to survey questions about racial prejudice, regardless of how respondents actually feel on the issues. Furthermore, the influence of the mass media, mainly the new images of Negroes and the sympathetic treatment of the Civil Rights movement, may have further influenced many whites to conceal their true feelings. Therefore, the critics suggest that measured levels of racial prejudice in communities do not indicate the actual level of prejudice that exists. Although some persons say they are not prejudiced, their actual behavior in response to race-related issues, such as open housing or school desegregation, indicates deep-lying prejudical and bigoted attitudes. If residents of the four cities are generally influenced to give "normative" responses to questions about racial attitudes, then these data are at worst an understatement of the general level of prejudice that exists in the community. Assuming that this indeterminate amount of "understatement" is a constant from city to city, these data roughly indicate relative differences between cities even if they do not indicate the absolute prevalence of these sentiments.

---

*Henry G. Stetler suggested the questionnaire items shown in Tables 1.5.1, 1.5.7, 1.5.8, and 1.5.10.

Respondents were asked if there were any areas of social and personal life where they would oppose the "mixing of Negroes and whites." (These data are not presented in tabular form.) Important differences emerge among the proportions of white populations that say there are no areas of social or personal life where they would oppose total integration. Forty-five percent of the whites in New Haven, 36 percent in Bridgeport and Hartford and 29 percent in Waterbury favor total social equality and integration. About nine out of ten Negroes in each city favor total social equality.

If, on the other hand, respondents indicated areas of social and personal life where they would oppose mixing, they were asked, "What are some of these areas?" (Table 1.5.1). Negroes who made such reservations are so few as to preclude an analysis. However, it is noted that when Negroes opposed mixing in some area of life it was almost always marriage and a few also mentioned various informal relations. Of the 55 percent to 70 percent of the whites who made any reservations, some advocated total segregation of the races in all areas of social and personal life--upwards to 17 percent of whites in Bridgeport, Hartford, and New Haven and 20 percent in Waterbury. When whites made reservations about racial integration, it was usually in the area of inter-marriage. Upwards to half or more of the whites opposed inter-racial marriage. Among whites with yet other reservations about racial mixing, the next most frequently mentioned category was informal gatherings, parties, friendship relations, etc. Less than one out of ten of the whites mentioned an opposition to integration in private neighborhood housing, apartments, etc.

A common sense interpretation of these data suggests that respondents were fairly candid in their expressions of attitudes and values toward racial integration. Racial attitudes are also indicated by responses to questions about race-related current events. In such questions, there is no direct probing for expressions of "unacceptable" attitudes and opinions that might embarass respondents. For example, respondents were asked for general agreement or disagreement with the statement, "that Negroes have been trying for too much, too fast in the past few years." (Table 1.5.2) Among whites, about 60 percent in Hartford and New Haven and about 64 percent in Bridgeport and Waterbury agreed with this statement. By way of contrast, roughly one out of ten Negroes in Hartford and Waterbury gave this response, and about one fifth of the Negroes in Bridgeport and New Haven gave this response. These data suggest that there was a prevalent irritation with the national Civil Rights movement in 1966 among whites in each of the cities. If this pattern of response has changed since 1966, it may well be in the direction of an increasing dissatisfaction with Civil Rights activity.

TABLE 1.5.1

SOCIAL SITUATIONS AND AREAS OF LIFE WHERE DISAPPROVESOF RACIAL MIXING

"Some people feel that people of different races should not associate or mix together in certain kinds of situations and places. Are there any such areas of life where you would be against mixing of Negroes and whites?" (If has any reservations about total racial equality:) *"What are some of these areas?"*

(Percentages or Cell Frequencies)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total*	133.4	-	132.7	135.0	-	134.2	131.7	-	130.2	133.7	-	133.7
Disapproves of mixing in any situation	16.6	-	16.2	16.7	(1)	16.4	16.2	(1)	15.9	19.5	(2)	19.6
Place of employment, on same job, etc.	0.9	-	0.9	0.9	-	0.9	1.3	-	1.2	0.7	-	0.7
Public housing projects	4.0	-	3.9	4.2	-	4.1	3.0	-	2.8	5.5	-	5.4
Parks & recreation areas	1.2	-	1.2	1.8	-	1.8	1.3	-	1.2	1.8	-	1.8
Informal gatherings, parties, in friendship relations, etc.	26.1	-	25.4	18.8	(1)	18.5	18.8	(1)	18.3	25.0	(4)	25.0
Hotels & restaurants	4.6	-	4.5	3.9	-	3.8	3.4	-	3.3	3.3	-	3.3
Swimming pools & beaches	2.1	-	2.1	3.3	-	3.2	3.4	-	3.3	3.3	-	3.3

TABLE 1.5.1 - Continued

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Private neighborhood housing, apartments, etc.	8.9	-	8.7	7.3	-	7.0	5.6	-	5.3	7.7	(1)	7.6
Private & parochial schools	1.5	-	1.5	2.4	-	2.3	1.3	-	1.2	0.7	-	0.7
Public schools	0.9	-	0.9	3.3	-	3.2	0.9	-	0.8	1.8	-	1.8
Private clubs, organizations, churches, etc.	8.6	-	8.4	5.2	(1)	5.3	5.1	-	4.9	4.8	(3)	5.4
Intermarriage	44.8	(8)	46.1	54.5	(7)	54.8	57.3	(9)	58.1	53.7	(7)	53.3
Some situations not covered above	2.8	-	2.7	3.6	-	3.5	3.4	(1)	3.7	0.0	(2)	0.0
Don't know	10.4	-	10.2	9.1	(2)	9.4	10.7	-	10.2	5.9	(1)	5.8
N	326	8	334	330	11	341	234	12	246	272	20	289

*Totals exceed 100 percent because some respondents named more than one situation.

TABLE 1.5.2

ATTITUDE TOWARDS RECENT NEGRO DEMANDS FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC EQUALITY

"Some people say that Negroes have been trying for too much too fast in the last few years. Do you tend to agree or disagree with that idea?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Tends to agree	64.8	21.3	59.2	59.1	9.8	49.5	61.0	22.2	53.5	64.0	12.4	60.2
Tends to disagree	21.9	73.3	28.5	28.1	82.1	38.4	27.8	75.8	36.7	28.3	83.9	32.4
Don't know	13.3	5.3	12.2	12.8	8.1	12.0	11.2	2.0	9.8	7.6	3.6	7.3
N	520	75	596	516	123	640	428	99	531	381	137	410

Later in the interview, respondents were asked another question that indicates public sentiments in 1966 for and against the Civil Rights movement. A short list of names of public figures was read to respondents with the following instructions: "Now...I'm going to read a list of names of persons...some well-known, some not so well-known...whose names have been in the news lately. Would you study the list of answers on this card and then tell me which of them comes closest to your feelings about this person? If you don't know anything about some of them, don't hesitate to say so." The name of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was in the list. Respondents were given a printed card with five alternative responses: (1) Don't know anything about that person, (2) Tend to approve, (3) Mixed: both approve and disapprove, (4) No opinion: Don't feel much one way or the other, (5) Tend to disapprove.

Among whites, 13 percent in New Haven and over 20 percent in Bridgeport, Hartford, and Waterbury in 1966 frankly admitted that they had never heard of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (Table 1.5.3). Among Negroes, on the other hand, three percent or less did not recognize the name in Bridgeport, Hartford, and New Haven, but this figure rises to nearly seven percent in Waterbury. About a quarter up to a third of the white respondents in each city said they disapproved of Dr. King, and, presumably, his Civil Rights activities. More than a fifth of the whites in each city expressed mixed approval and disapproval. On the other hand, nine percent (Bridgeport) to 22 percent (New Haven) of whites expressed approval of Dr. King and, presumably, his activities.

Social Participation and Race Relations

Participation and involvement in voluntary associations, especially those related to community problems such as race relations,are important for assessing the climate of opinion on race. The major parameters of voluntary association membership and participation for urban populations are well established in sociological research. Generally, rates of participation in voluntary associations tend to be low among urban populations, with about one-half belonging to one or more organizations of any type. Furthermore, membership and participation in voluntary associations concerned with public issues and policy, such as those which might function as pressure groups in various community problem areas, is extremely rare among urban populations. These survey data entirely bear out these expectations.

Voluntary associations, especially those that function in some capacity as pressure groups, are social-organizational devices for urban populations to express themselves through institutional channels. Persons who have a common interest in seeking some social reform or social change band together in voluntary associations and act together to attempt to influence public policy. The characteristics of persons who join and participate in voluntary associations, especially the pressure-group type, are well established in research. Members and participants tend to be predominantly middle-class urbanites. Characteristically, men are more often members and participants

TABLE 1.5.3

APPROVAL OR DISAPPROVAL OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Don't know anything about that person	21.9	2.7	19.2	21.1	0.0	17.1	12.6	3.1	11.0	23.5	6.7	22.6
Tend to approve	9.2	93.3	19.9	16.9	83.6	29.8	21.5	81.6	32.7	12.7	80.7	16.5
Mixed: both approve & disapprove	21.3	4.0	19.0	23.6	11.5	21.2	21.5	10.2	19.3	22.8	8.1	22.1
No opinion: don't feel much one way or another	14.2	0.0	12.4	13.6	4.1	11.7	16.4	2.0	13.6	14.0	2.2	13.0
Tend to disapprove	33.4	0.0	29.1	24.8	0.8	20.1	28.0	3.1	23.4	27.0	2.2	25.8
N	512	75	588	508	122	631	428	98	529	378	135	407

than women. Larger proportions of whites than Negroes are members and participants, mainly because of socio-economic differences between the two groups. There are many and extensive exceptions to these generalizations but the level and nature of participation in voluntary associations, especially in ones with instrumental interests in social change, are important for understanding the community climate for decision-making in areas of urban social problems.

Table 1.5.4 shows that, with the exception of Waterbury, upwards to half or more of the general populations in each city do not belong to a voluntary association of any type. Roughly an additional one quarter belong to only one voluntary association. Only about one quarter of the general population belong to two or more voluntary associations, and only a few of these are the instrumental or pressure-group type. Respondents were extensively questioned in the course of the interview about their membership and level of involvement in different kinds of voluntary associations. For each association that respondents belonged to, they were asked if this particular association "ever takes a stand on welfare, better government, school problems, or other public issues." Using this criterion for identifying membership in issue-interest associations, an "organizational-involvement" score was calculated for each respondent.

The issue-interest organizational-involvement score was computed by assigning points for various kinds of participation and involvement in the organization; namely, (1) whether the individual had ever served in an official capacity in the organization, (2) the amount of attendance at regular meetings, (3) the number of hours devoted to participation, and (4) the level and nature of the respondent's expressed interest in the particular organization. The involvement score for each issue-interest organization was then summed for all such organizations belonged to by the respondent. The scale ranged from zero to 100, although most respondents had very low scores.

Table 1.5.5 shows that participation and involvement in issue-interest voluntary associations in the general population is extremely low among these urban populations. Half of the populations belong to no organizations at all, and when people do belong to one or more organizations it is seldom the issue-interest type. The large majority of respondents with scores of zero-to-nine have scores of zero because they belong to no issue-active voluntary associations. Whites in each city are somewhat more active in issue-active associations than the Negro population. These racial differences and the generally low level of participation and involvement in issue-active associations is generally characteristic of urban populations and these data are representative of most other middle-sized cities.

TABLE 1.5.4

NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS IN ALL TYPES OF CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None	48.3	60.0	49.8	47.8	70.7	52.3	42.8	65.0	46.9	35.2	48.5	35.4
One	26.1	26.7	26.2	25.3	17.1	23.7	26.2	23.0	25.8	30.8	26.5	31.8
Two or more	25.6	13.3	24.0	26.9	12.2	24.0	31.1	12.0	27.3	33.9	25.0	32.8
N	528	75	604	513	123	637	431	100	535	386	132	415

TABLE 1.5.5

ISSUE-ACTIVE ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT SCORE

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0 - 9	88.6	93.3	89.2	89.9	92.7	90.4	84.9	91.9	86.4	80.4	83.3	81.2
10 - 19	7.4	2.7	6.8	6.0	2.4	5.3	7.6	6.1	7.3	14.2	9.1	13.5
20 - 29	1.9	4.0	2.2	1.9	2.4	2.0	4.4	1.0	3.7	3.9	3.8	3.8
30 and higher	2.1	0.0	2.0	2.2	2.4	2.4	2.9	1.0	2.7	1.5	3.9	1.4
N	527	75	603	513	123	637	431	99	535	387	132	415

The organizational climate of these communities may be further characterized by the number of memberships in types of organizations that are principally concerned with politics, civil rights, and related issues. This is a more specific kind of issue-interest voluntary association and represents a subcategory of the broader grouping. Respondents were asked if they belonged to any organizations described as "groups concerned with politics, civil rights, or which sometimes take stands on political issues, or the rights of individuals." Such organizations would, of course, include the NAACP, CORE, the ACLU, and any of a variety of other local and national organizations having such interests. Table 1.5.6 indicates that membership in such organizations is exptremelysparse. Ninety-seven percent to 99 percent of the general populations report belonging to no such organizations. Two percent or less of whites in each community report belonging to such an organization, compared to somewhat larger proportions of Negroes. Four percent to five percent of the Negroes in Hartford and New Haven and about ten percent of the Negroes in Waterbury report belonging to one such organization, but there are no Negro memberships in the Bridgeport sample. This generally low level of participation in such organizations is entirely expectable in these typical urban populations.

Later in the interview, respondents were asked if they belonged to any clubs or organizations in the community that had members of a different race (Table 1.5.7). Generally, a quarter or fewer of the general populations in each city indicated they belonged to such an integrated club, but it is important to keep in mind that approximately half of the populations do not belong to any organization at all. Expectably, somewhat larger proportions of whites than Negroes, about a quarter or less, in each city report belonging to an integrated club.

In addition to describing patterns of membership and participation in community-problem related organizations in order to characterize the climate of activism in the community, it is also important to note the quality of informal social relations among the races. Although not presented here in tabular form, more than half of the general populations in each city reported visiting, at least occasionally, with their neighbors, and this figure rises to 65 percent in Waterbury. Those who reported visiting at least occasionally with neighbors were asked, "Are any of these neighbors that you visit with of a different race than you?" (Table 1.5.8). Of those that ever visited with neighbors, eight percent (Waterbury) to 23 percent (New Haven) of the general populations report inter-racial neighborhood visiting. In each city, substantially larger proportions of Negroes than whites report inter-racial visiting. About 30 percent of the Negroes report inter-racial visiting in the neighborhood, although it is only about 24 percent in Bridgeport. Inter-racial visiting among whites varies from six percent in Waterbury to 20 percent in New Haven. Of course, inter-racial visiting is in some large part a function of opportunity. Opportunity is related to the presence or absence of persons of a different race in the neighborhood. The inter-racial differences, therefore, may reflect objective opportunities for inter-racial visiting that result from propinquity and accessibility. The pertinent observation from these data is that relatively small proportions of the white populations experience any kind of inter-racial contact on the neighborhood level.

TABLE 1.5.6

NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS IN CIVIL RIGHTS, CIVIL LIBERTIES, LIBERAL POLITICAL, AND SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None	99.1	100.0	99.2	98.4	95.1	97.8	97.4	96.0	97.2	97.7	90.2	97.6
One or more	1.0	0.0	0.9	1.6	4.9	2.2	2.5	4.0	2.8	2.2	9.8	2.3
N	528	75	604	513	123	637	431	99	535	386	132	415

TABLE 1.5.7

MEMBERSHIP IN LOCAL RACIALLY-INTEGRATED CLUBS OR ORGANIZATIONS

*"Do you belong to any clubs or organizations here in * * * that have any members who are of a different race than you?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Yes	20.4	12.0	19.3	23.5	14.6	21.8	28.8	21.2	27.2	23.4	20.0	22.9
No	78.8	88.0	80.0	76.5	84.6	78.1	71.0	78.8	72.3	75.8	80.0	76.3
Don't know	0.8	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.8	0.0	0.7
N	519	75	595	514	123	638	428	99	530	385	135	414

TABLE 1.5.8

VISITING WITH NEIGHBORS OF DIFFERENT RACE

(If respondent ever visits with neighbors:) *"Are any of these neighbors that you visit with of a different race than you?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Yes	13.6	23.9	15.0	15.9	29.3	18.7	20.5	29.0	22.7	6.0	31.7	8.5
No	86.4	76.1	85.0	84.1	70.7	81.3	79.5	71.0	77.3	94.0	68.3	91.5
N*	273	46	319	271	75	347	220	62	286	250	101	271

---

*A relatively great five percent no-answer rate is attributed to systematic omission of the question by several interviewers.

Perceptions of the Community Race-Relations Climate

Several questions were asked respondents, not about their own attitudes and behavior in the race-relations area, but about their subjective perceptions of the quality of race relations in their cities. Such subjective evaluations, of course, are largely a reflection of respondents' own predispositions and wishes toward these areas of controversy. Nonetheless, these data are useful to indicate what residents in each city perceived to be the quality of race relations in 1966. When white respondents were asked how well they thought the various ethnic and racial groups in the community got along together, from about 73 percent in Bridgeport and Hartford to 82 percent in Waterbury said "pretty well" and 11 to 18 percent said "not so well" (Table 1.5.9). In each city, the Negro respondents were somewhat less sanguine about the good quality of inter-group relations in the community, although about two thirds or more of the Negroes also thought that racial groups got along "pretty well" in 1966. Negroes, more often than whites, consistantly expressed the sentiment that the various groups did not get along so well. The majority of whites and Negroes, then, perceive a harmonious quality of inter-group relations in their communities. Judging from these data, Negroes in Bridgeport have a relatively more dour estimation of the quality of race relations in that community.

Respondents were later asked if they thought white-Negro relations in the community had gotten better, stayed about the same, or had gotten worse (Table 1.5.10). In 1966, 17 percent (Bridgeport) to 32 percent (Hartford) of the whites expressed the opinion that race relations had gotten better during the past five years or so. In each city, the Negro samples were substantially more apt to express this positive evaluation of the direction of change in community race relations. Conversely, much larger proportions of whites than Negroes expressed the opinion that race relations had gotten worse during the period. About a quarter of the whites in Hartford, New Haven, and Waterbury and 37 percent of the whites in Bridgeport perceived this negative direction of change in race relations. By way of contrast, only five percent to 14 percent of the Negro populations expressed this negative perception.

Perception of Race Relations by the Negro Community

In the supplementary interview schedule that was administered only to Negro respondents, in addition to the regular schedule, a series of questions was asked about perceptions of the structure of opportunity for Negroes in the city and for beliefs and personal experiences with racial discrimination in housing and employment. These additional data further characterize the 1966 climate of opinion that existed in the Negro communities. First, Negro respondents were asked for their general agreement or disagreement with a statement asserting that Negro residents "can't get ahead as fast as other people" (Table 1.5.11). Upwards to half or more of the Negro respondents expressed qualified or, more often, unqualified agreement with the statement.

TABLE 1.5.9

PERCEPTION OF INTERGROUP HARMONY IN CITY

*"Just thinking how * * * is made up of so many different groups of people having different nationalities, different religions, and different races... do you think that these various groups here in * * * get along pretty well, or not so well?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Get along pretty well	73.3	64.0	72.2	72.5	68.3	71.8	78.7	68.7	77.0	81.6	78.1	80.5
Don't get along so well	18.3	33.3	20.2	16.1	17.9	16.4	12.5	17.2	13.3	11.4	16.1	12.5
Don't know	8.4	2.7	7.7	11.4	13.8	11.9	8.8	14.1	9.7	7.0	5.8	7.0
N	524	75	600	517	123	641	431	99	534	386	137	415

TABLE 1.5.10

ASSESSMENT OF RECENT RACE RELATIONS CLIMATE IN CITY

"During the last five years or so, do you think that the relations between whites and Negroes in this city have gotten better, stayed about the same, or have gotten worse?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Better	16.9	24.0	17.7	31.5	43.1	33.7	25.1	33.3	26.6	28.7	40.9	29.0
Stayed the same	35.6	66.7	39.6	28.2	33.3	29.2	30.7	39.4	32.3	37.6	38.0	38.7
Worse	37.2	5.3	33.1	24.2	8.1	21.1	25.8	9.1	22.5	23.2	13.9	22.6
Don't know	10.3	4.0	9.5	16.1	15.4	16.1	18.4	18.2	18.6	10.4	7.3	9.7
N	522	75	598	517	123	641	430	99	533	383	137	411

TABLE 1.5.11

NEGRO RESPONDENTS' OPINIONS WHETHER NEGROES IN CITY CAN'T DO AS WELL AS OTHERS

*"Many people say that Negroes here in * * * can't get ahead as fast as other people. Do you agree, or disagree?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agree, unqualified	28.0	37.7	24.2	32.1
Agree, qualified	26.7	23.0	26.3	12.7
Disagree, qualified	16.0	20.5	24.2	26.9
Disagree, unqualified	29.3	18.9	25.3	28.4
N	75	122	99	134

On the face of it, these data indicate a fairly high level of dissatisfaction among Negroes in 1966 concerning the opportunity structure.

Negroes were next asked if they had ever experienced trouble getting or keeping a job because of their race (Table 1.5.12). About 20 percent in Hartford and New Haven and 14 percent and 17 percent in Waterbury and Bridgeport said they had at some previous time experienced such trouble. Those who complained of such trouble in the past were asked for the kind of trouble they had, whether it was in getting a job or some kind of trouble on the job (Table 1.5.13). The small N's preclude all but the crudest estimations. However, the cell frequencies suggest that generally the trouble was with getting a job.

Negroes were next asked if they had ever experienced any sort of housing discrimination in the community (Table 1.5.14). About 46 percent of the Negroes in Bridgeport and Waterbury say they had experienced some kind of housing discrimination and 26 percent and 28 percent related such experiences in Hartford and New Haven. Those who related such personal experiences with housing discrimination were asked for the nature of the difficulty (Table 1.5.15). In each city, the vast majority told of experiences with landlords who would not rent to Negroes. There were also scattered complaints of other natures.

Negroes were asked to assess their own behavior in a contingency of their planning to purchase a house and hearing that there was a good house buy in a white neighborhood (Table 1.5.16). Specifically, they were asked if they would bother to make an appointment to see the house. Upwards to nine out of ten respondents said they would make an appointment to see the house. Those few who said they would not bother were asked to specify why not (Table 1.5.17). The small N's preclude all but some rough impressions but the cell frequencies suggest that most gave such reasons as not being interested in moving to a white neighborhood, not wanting to cause trouble, or that the owner probably would not sell.

1966 Civil Rights Activity Among Negroes

Negroes in each city were further questioned about their interest and involvement in Civil Rights activity. Respondents were asked if they were "very interested, somewhat interested, or not very interested in Civil Rights activity" in their community (Table 1.5.18). A third in Bridgeport, about 45 percent in Hartford and New Haven, and 60 percent in Waterbury said they were "very interested." About one in ten in Bridgeport, Hartford, and Waterbury and two in ten in New Haven described themselves as not very interested. In each city, then, over three quarters to 90 percent of Negroes described themselves as either very interested or somewhat interested in local Civil Rights activities.

TABLE 1.5.12

NEGRO RESPONDENTS' PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

"Have you ever had trouble getting or keeping a job because you are Negro?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Yes	17.3	20.3	21.2	14.2
No	82.7	79.7	78.8	85.8
N	75	123	99	134

TABLE 1.5.13

NATURE OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCE OF NEGRO RESPONDENTS WITH RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

(If has experienced discrimination in employment:)
"What kind of trouble have you had?"

(Cell Frequencies)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Getting a job	(5)	(21)	(15)	(17)
On job with employer or supervisor	-	(3)	(4)	-
Getting job for which he was qualified	(8)	(1)	(1)	(3)
Getting a promotion or raise	-	(1)	(2)	-
Other	-	-	-	(1)
N*	13	25	21	19

---

[*] Sums of cell frequencies may exceed N's because some respondents cited more than one kind of trouble.

TABLE 1.5.14

NEGRO RESPONDENTS' PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING

*"Have you ever had trouble finding a place to live here in * * * because of your race?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Yes	46.7	28.5	26.3	45.5
No	53.3	71.5	73.7	54.5
N	75	123	99	134

TABLE 1.5.15

NATURE OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCE OF NEGRO RESPONDENTS WITH RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING

(If has experienced racial discrimination in housing:) *"What kind of trouble have you had?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total*	100.0	105.9	126.9	116.5
Adequate housing not available	0.0	20.0	7.7	11.5
Middle-income housing not available	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0
Rent too high	0.0	8.6	19.2	3.3
Owner or landlord refused to rent	94.3	65.7	84.6	78.7
Owner refused to sell	0.0	0.0	7.7	6.6
Owner or landlord raised the rent	5.7	2.9	7.7	13.1
Owner raised selling price	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0
Other reason	0.0	2.9	0.0	3.3
N	35	35	26	61

*Totals exceed 100 percent because some respondents cited more than one kind of trouble.

TABLE 1.5.16

NEGRO RESPONDENTS' SELF-ASSESSMENT OF OWN LIKELY BEHAVIOR IN CONTINGENCY OF GOOD-HOUSE-BUY OPPORTUNITY IN WHITE NEIGHBORHOOD

"Suppose you were looking for a new house and you heard about a good buy in a white neighborhood, do you think you would make an appointment to see the house?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Yes, would make an appointment to see house	84.0	89.4	84.8	89.5
No, would not make an appointment to see house	14.7	9.8	14.1	9.8
Don't know	1.3	0.8	1.0	0.8
N	75	123	99	133

TABLE 1.5.17

REASON GIVEN BY NEGRO RESPONDENTS FOR NOT INVESTIGATING IN GOOD-HOUSE-BUY CONTINGENCY

(If would not investigate good house buy in white neighborhood:)
"Why wouldn't you make an appointment to see the house?"

(Cell Frequencies)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Owner probably wouldn't sell to Negro	(3)	(3)	(5)	-
Negroes should not try to move into white neighborhoods	(1)	(1)	(1)	-
Would not be interested in moving into white neighborhood	(5)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Would cause trouble	(2)	-	(3)	(1)
Would feel uncomfortable, feel out of place, etc.	-	(2)	-	(1)
Other reason	-	(1)	-	(2)
N*	11	12	14	13

*Sums of cell frequencies may exceed N's because some respondents cited more than one reason.

TABLE 1.5.18

NEGRO RESPONDENTS' INTEREST LEVEL IN CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITIES IN CITY

*"Would you say you are very interested, somewhat interested, or not very interested in civil rights activities here in * * * ?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Very interested	33.3	44.7	46.5	60.2
Somewhat interested	54.7	42.3	32.3	29.3
Not very interested	10.7	11.4	20.2	9.0
Don't know	1.3	1.6	1.0	1.5
N	75	123	99	133

Negroes, however, as a group do not project the same level of interest in Civil Rights onto most other Negroes that they themselves profess to have (Table 1.5.19). Whereas they describe themselves as "very" interested they tend to describe others as only "somewhat" interested. Twelve percent (Bridgeport) to 40 percent (Waterbury) perceive most other Negroes in the community as being "very" interested in Civil Rights activity. Forty-three percent (Waterbury) to 75 percent (Bridgeport) perceive most other Negroes in the community as being "somewhat" interested. Roughly one out of ten Negroes described most other Negroes as not interested in Civil Rights. Even though Negroes in each city tend to attribute more interest in Civil Rights to themselves than to most other Negroes in their communities, relative differences between cities in Table 1.5.19 resemble differences in Table 1.5.18. That is, if Negroes describe themselves as being interested, they also ascribe interest to most others, but less interest than they have themselves.

Negroes were next asked if they had taken part in any Civil Rights activities in their communities in the two or three years prior to 1966 (Table 1.5.20). Bridgeport and New Haven had the lowest levels of recent Civil Rights activity among Negroes, 12 and 14 percent, respectively. Waterbury had the greatest proportion of Civil Rights participants (35 percent), followed by Hartford (23 percent). Those who said they had participated in Civil Rights activity were asked in what ways they had taken part (Table 1.5.21). The very small number of respondents in these subsamples obviate all but the most cautious generalizations. However, it is fairly clear that most Negro participants attended rallies or contributed money as their principle form of participation.

Earlier in the interview, Negroes were asked several questions for self-assessments about how they might respond if asked to participate in certain kinds of Civil Rights activities. When asked if they would respond to a request from a friend to carry a picket sign in front of a store that allegedly discriminated against Negro employment, 17 percent (Bridgeport) to 42 percent (Waterbury) said they would participate in picketing (Table 1.5.22). One quarter of the respondents in Hartford and New Haven said they would carry a picket sign in this situation. Substantially larger proportions, however, said they would prefer to help in some other way; 36 percent (Waterbury) to 68 percent (Bridgeport) said they would want to do something else rather than picket. In Hartford, New Haven, and Waterbury, roughly one fifth of the respondents said they would not participate in any way; 13 percent in Bridgeport gave this response. Those who indicated they would not take part in picketing were asked why they preferred not to participate (Table 1.5.23). The small N's preclude all but some rough impressions of the reasons for not wanting to participate. Nonetheless, most of the reasons were references to such things as not believing in picketing, that the activity was not worthwhile, that there were better ways to achieve the same thing, and not wanting to stir up trouble.

TABLE 1.5.19

NEGRO RESPONDENTS' ASSESSMENT OF CIVIL-RIGHTS INTEREST LEVEL AMONG MOST OTHER NEGROES IN CITY

*"Speaking of civil rights activities here in * * * , would you say that most Negroes are very interested, somewhat interested, or not very interested?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Very interested	12.0	26.8	22.2	39.8
Somewhat interested	74.7	50.4	45.5	42.8
Not very interested	13.3	7.3	13.1	6.8
Don't know	0.0	15.4	19.2	10.5
N	75	123	99	133

TABLE 1.5.20

RECENT PARTICIPATION BY NEGRO RESPONDENTS IN CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITIES IN CITY

*"Have you taken part in any civil rights activities here in * * * in the last two or three years?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Yes	12.0	22.8	14.3	34.6
No	88.0	77.2	85.7	65.4
N	75	123	98	133

TABLE 1.5.21

NATURE OF RECENT PARTICIPATION BY NEGRO RESPONDENTS IN CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITIES IN CITY

(If has recently participated in local Civil Rights activities:)
"In what ways have you taken part?"

(Percentages or Cell Frequencies)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total	-	124.9	-	120.0
Picketed	(1)	10.7	-	11.1
Contributed money	-	25.0	(9)	37.8
Went to rally, *marched in rally, etc.*	(6)	57.1	(7)	42.2
Made sandwiches, food for demonstrators	-	7.1	-	2.2
Wrote a letter to public officials	(2)	0.0	(1)	4.4
Participated in organizing, sponsoring, administering, including speaking & committee work	-	17.9	(1)	15.6
Other ways	-	7.1	-	6.7
N*	9	28	14	45

---

*Totals exceed 100 percent or sums of cell frequencies may exceed N's because some respondents mentioned more than one activity.

TABLE 1.5.22

NEGRO RESPONDENTS' SELF-ASSESSMENT OF OWN LIKELY RESPONSE IF ASKED TO PICKET

"Suppose a friend called and asked you to carry a picket sign in front of a downtown store that doesn't hire very many Negroes. Would you agree to carry a picket sign, help in some other way but not picket, or refuse to take part in any way?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Would picket	17.3	25.2	25.3	41.8
Would do something else	68.0	46.3	50.5	35.8
Would not take part	13.3	21.1	21.2	17.2
Don't know	1.3	7.3	3.0	5.2
N	75	123	99	134

TABLE 1.5.23

REASON GIVEN BY NEGRO RESPONDENTS FOR PROBABLE REFUSAL TO PICKET

(If thinks would not picket:) *"Why would you prefer not to take part?"*

(Percentages or Cell Frequencies)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total	-	115.3	-	-
Don't believe in that kind of activity	(1)	38.5	(13)	(7)
Wouldn't be worth doing, a waste of time	(2)	23.1	(1)	(7)
Not respectable,people would laugh	(1)	3.8	(1)	-
There are other ways of solving the problem	(2)	19.2	(3)	-
Stores don't discriminate	(1)	0.0	-	-
Shouldn't stir up trouble	*(1)*	15.4	(2)	(6)
Afraid	-	7.7	(1)	(1)
Other reason	-	3.8	(1)	(2)
Don't know	(2)	3.8	(1)	(1)
N*	10	26	21	23

*Totals exceed 100 percent or sums of cell frequencies may exceed N's because some respondents mentioned more than one reason.

Finally, Negroes were asked yet another hypothetical question about their willingness to participate in certain Civil Rights activities (Table 1.5.24). They were asked, if a group in their community was sponsoring a Civil Rights rally at which Martin Luther King was going to speak and a friend asked them to sell tickets to it, would they agree to do so. Eighty-two percent (Hartford) to 92 percent (Waterbury) said they would agree. Roughly one out of ten said they would refuse to sell tickets to the rally. The few respondents who said they would refuse were asked why they would refuse. The small N's in the subsamples obviate any generalizations, however the cell frequencies are shown in Table 1.5.25.

Summary

The climate of race relations in the community and public attitudes toward educational institutions in the community both have important implications for public opinion on the closely related issues of racially imbalanced schools and various bussing proposals to alleviate school segregation. In 1966, there was a detectable antagonism among many whites toward the Civil Rights movement and most whites believed that the community's race relations climate was stable or had become worse. There was generally a low level of participation in voluntary associations among whites and Negroes, especially in organizations relevant to Civil Rights and community-problem issues. In 1966, there was sanguinity among both Negroes and whites concerning the quality of inter-group relations in the community, which were quiet at that time. Extensive data were presented describing attitudes toward, and participation in, the Civil Rights movement by Negroes as of 1966. The assessed levels of racial prejudice and intolerance in each of the communities does not indicate that any one of the four central cities are deviant from other similar cities in the North and West. Mainly the differences between the four cities reflect differences in socio-economic characteristics.

TABLE 1.5.24

NEGRO RESPONDENTS' SELF-ASSESSMENT OF OWN LIKELY RESPONSE IF ASKED TO SELL TICKETS TO CIVIL RIGHTS RALLY

*"If a group here in * * * was sponsoring a civil rights rally at which Martin Luther King was going to speak, and a friend asked you to sell ten tickets to it, would you agree to do so or would you refuse?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agree	90.7	82.1	86.9	91.8
Refuse	9.3	9.8	11.1	7.5
Don't know	0.0	8.1	2.0	0.7
N	75	123	99	134

TABLE 1.5.25

REASON GIVEN BY NEGRO RESPONDENTS FOR PROBABLE REFUSAL TO SELL TICKETS TO RALLY

(If thinks would refuse to sell tickets if asked:)
"Why would you refuse?"

(Cell Frequencies)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Too busy, don't have time	-	-	(2)	(1)
Don't know anybody who could buy them	-	-	(2)	-
Don't believe in that kind of activity	(1)	(2)	(3)	(2)
Don't like Martin Luther King	(2)	(7)	(1)	(2)
Not respectable, people would laugh	-	-	(1)	-
Rallies don't do any good, a waste of time	(3)	(1)	(1)	(1)
Money should be put to a different use	(1)	-	-	-
Doesn't like selling tickets	-	(1)	-	-
Other reason	-	(1)	-	(2)
Don't know	-	-	(1)	(2)
N	7	12	11	10

Chapter Six

EDUCATION, EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLIC OPINION

Chapter Six characterizes public evaluations of the educational process and public attitudes and beliefs concerning educational institutions in the community. These data provide additional background for the discussions of attitudes and opinions on de facto school segregation and bussing proposals in Chapters Seven and Eight.

The Evaluation of Education

Generally these data show that residents in each community hold education and educational institutions in high esteem. In each city, well over half of the Negro and white samples mentioned a college degree when asked how much education a young man needed "to get along well in the world" (Table 1.6.1). Proportions of the samples mentioning lower levels of educational attainment for successful social mobility also tended to be similar between the four cities and, again, there are no substantial differences between the races.

Respondents were next asked to express their general agreement or disagreement with several statements about the usefulness of formal education for upward socio-economic mobility. These statements are in the category of common sayings and are useful to determine beliefs about the efficacy of education. Respondents were first asked for their opinion whether a young man with native intelligence and initiative but without a college education could compete effectively with others who had graduate from college (Table 1.6.2). Forty percent to 49 percent of the residents in each city agreed with the idea that intelligence and initiative could overcome the handicap of not having a college education. Negroes in Bridgeport, New Haven, and Waterbury were substantially less likely than whites to agree with this statement, although no such racial differences obtained in Hartford. Whites were about evenly split in agreement and disagreement except in Waterbury where substantially more whites were apt to agree with the statement.

Respondents were read another statement in the nature of a common saying about the importance of education (Table 1.6.3). Eight out of ten residents in Bridgeport, Hartford, and New Haven disagreed with the statement deprecating the value of education for "getting a person ahead in life."

TABLE 1.6.1

BELIEFS ABOUT AMOUNT OF EDUCATION NEEDED FOR SUCCESS

"About how much schooling do you think most young men need these days to get along well in the world?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than high school graduation	2.9	1.3	2.7	0.8	1.6	0.9	0.7	0.0	0.6	1.3	0.7	1.4
High school degree	18.8	18.7	18.7	21.1	26.8	22.2	19.2	20.2	19.5	15.5	19.9	16.4
High school degree, plus bus, voc, trde school	5.6	13.3	6.5	6.0	5.7	5.9	4.7	7.1	5.1	2.8	2.9	2.7
Some college, but no bachelor's degree	9.8	10.7	9.9	8.9	7.3	8.6	8.4	8.1	8.3	11.9	11.0	11.8
College degree (Bachelor's degree)	53.3	52.0	53.0	56.4	56.1	56.4	56.4	57.6	56.7	59.6	58.8	59.0
Graduate, law, med school, etc.	6.3	4.0	6.2	4.8	1.6	4.2	8.2	6.1	7.8	7.0	5.1	6.7
Don't know	3.4	0.0	3.0	1.9	0.8	1.7	2.3	1.0	2.1	1.8	1.5	1.9
N	522	75	598	516	123	640	427	99	529	386	136	415

TABLE 1.6.2

BELIEFS ABOUT LIFE-CHANCES OF UNEDUCATED MAN COMPARED TO EDUCATED MAN

"Do you think that a young man who does not have a college degree but who is smart and has a lot of initiative, has as good a chance to get ahead as the fellow who has a college degree?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Yes	42.1	25.3	40.0	45.0	43.1	44.6	42.7	41.4	42.3	49.3	32.4	48.8
No	47.3	72.0	50.5	43.1	42.3	42.9	42.7	52.5	44.8	39.9	55.9	40.5
Heavily qualified answer	9.8	0.0	8.5	10.9	13.8	11.6	13.4	6.1	11.9	9.9	8.8	9.7
Don't know	0.8	2.7	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.9	1.2	0.0	0.9	0.8	2.9	1.0
N	522	75	598	515	123	639	426	99	529	383	136	412

TABLE 1.6.3

ASSESSMENT OF IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION FOR LIFE-CHANCES

"Some people say that education is really not so important when it comes to getting a person ahead in life. Would you tend to agree or disagree with that idea?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY*		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Tends to agree	17.5	16.0	17.3	16.7	11.4	15.6	16.6	16.2	16.4	30.8	23.1	31.1
Tends to disagree	78.7	84.0	79.4	81.2	87.8	82.5	81.0	82.8	81.5	62.7	64.9	62.4
Don't know	3.8	0.0	3.4	2.1	0.8	1.9	2.3	1.0	2.1	6.5	11.9	6.6
N	521	75	597	515	123	639	427	99	529	383	134	412

*In the Waterbury pilot study, the question was differently worded: *"Some people say that education is generally overated in terms of what it can do for the individual. Would you tend to agree or disagree with that idea?"*

Since, in the Waterbury pilot study, variant though similar question wording was used, the responses are not directly comparable. Six out of ten residents in Waterbury agreed with the variant statement. Negro respondents were slightly more apt to disagree with the statement.

Respondents were next asked a question intended to assess their attitudes toward curricula in public schools that deviate from the traditional three R's (Table 1.6.4). Upwards to three quarters or more of the residents in each city thought discussions and debates about current events and political issues in the classroom were a good idea. Ten percent to 17 percent disapproved of such discussions in the classroom. In each city, Negroes were more likely than whites to approve of such discussions. Conversely, whites are more apt than Negroes to say such discussions have no place in the schools in each of the four cities.

Educational Aspirations for Children

These high valuations of education in the community are reflected in high educational aspirations among parents for their children. Parents of sons and doughters 18 years of age or younger were asked how far they wanted their eldest son and doughter to go in school (Tables 1.6.5 and 1.6.6). Three quarters or more of the parents in each city want to see their oldest son finish college (B.A. degree) at least and some of these mention the necessity of continuing on to graduate school as well (Table 1.6.5). Although Negro parents of sons are more apt than white parents to mention college graduation, white parents are more apt to want to see their sons continue on to a graduate degree. Negro parents are more apt than white parents to mention high school as the highest aspiration. A similar overall pattern of educational aspirations for the oldest daughter obtains (Table 1.6.6). About two thirds of the parents of daughters would like to see the oldest at least finish college, and a few of these would like to see her continue on to a graduate degree as well. About a quarter of the parents of daughters would like to see the daughter finish high school or take post-graduate training in addition to a high-school graduation. Negro parents more often than whites mentioned college graduation, but more whites mentioned graduate degrees.

Public Attitudes and Support of Educational Institutions

Later in the interview, respondents were asked several questions intended to get at positive and negative predispositions toward local educational institutions. Two queries were in the form of hypothetical issues about raising local property taxes to "improve education" and about beliefs concerning alleged self-seeking interests of local school-board members (Tables 1.6.7 and 1.6.8).

TABLE 1.6.4

APPROVAL OF POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS AND DEBATES IN PUBLIC-SCHOOL CURRICULUM

"As you probably know, in some schools the children are encouraged to discuss and debate current events and politics. Do you think that this is a good thing, or do you think that such discussions should have no place in the school?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Good thing	69.0	85.3	71.0	76.1	79.7	76.8	75.2	86.9	77.5	75.7	86.0	76.0
Alright at some levels, & other qualifications	8.1	6.7	7.9	7.2	5.7	6.9	10.1	8.1	9.6	6.5	2.2	6.1
Have no place in the school	18.1	6.7	16.6	12.8	9.8	12.2	11.0	5.1	9.8	12.8	6.6	13.1
Don't know	4.8	1.3	4.5	3.9	4.9	4.1	3.7	0.0	3.0	5.0	5.1	4.9
N	520	75	596	515	123	639	427	99	530	383	136	412

TABLE 1.6.5

HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION FOR OLDEST SON

(If oldest son is less than 19 years old:) *"How far do you want your (oldest) son to go in school?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Quit before high school graduation	0.8	0.0	0.6	1.8	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	4.3	1.0
High school graduate	13.6	7.1	11.9	14.9	19.4	16.5	13.1	26.5	16.1	7.4	12.8	8.7
High school graduate, plus bus, voc, trde school	3.4	21.4	8.1	1.8	6.5	3.4	3.7	0.0	2.8	6.3	0.0	5.8
Some college, no Bachelor's degree	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.6	4.8	3.4	1.9	0.0	1.4	9.5	2.1	8.7
College graduate (Bachelor's degree)	64.4	69.0	65.6	69.3	66.1	68.2	64.5	73.5	66.4	65.3	76.6	65.0
Graduate, law, med. school etc.	11.0	0.0	8.1	5.3	1.6	4.0	14.0	0.0	11.2	10.5	2.1	10.7
Don't know	4.2	0.0	3.1	4.4	1.6	3.4	2.8	0.0	2.1	0.0	2.1	0.0
N	118	42	160	114	62	176	107	34	143	95	47	103

TABLE 1.6.6

HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION FOR OLDEST DAUGHTER

(If oldest daugher is less than 19 years old:) *"How far do you want your (oldest) daughter to go in school?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Quit before high school graduation	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	1.7	0.8
High school graduate	18.4	11.1	16.6	17.5	23.0	19.3	19.1	22.2	19.7	16.2	20.3	17.2
High school grad, plus bus, voc, trde school	8.8	15.6	10.5	6.7	3.3	5.5	4.3	2.8	3.8	9.9	1.7	9.0
Some college, no Bachelor's degree	2.9	4.4	3.3	3.3	1.6	2.8	5.3	0.0	3.8	9.9	1.7	9.0
College graduate (Bachelor's degree)	61.0	66.7	62.4	64.2	67.2	65.2	62.8	75.0	65.9	56.8	71.2	56.6
Graduate, law, med. school etc.	5.9	2.2	5.0	3.3	3.3	3.3	5.3	0.0	4.5	4.5	1.7	4.9
Don't know	2.9	0.0	2.2	5.0	1.6	3.9	3.2	0.0	2.3	1.8	1.7	2.5
N	136	45	181	120	61	181	94	36	132	111	59	122

TABLE 1.6.7

ATTITUDES ON HYPOTHETICAL PROPERTY TAX INCREASE TO IMPROVE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

*"Some people say that property taxes should be raised in * * * in order to improve the public schools. Do you tend to agree or disagree with this?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unqualified agreement	13.4	6.7	12.5	13.8	17.1	14.4	14.0	15.2	14.5	16.1	9.6	15.5
Qualified agreement	15.5	5.3	14.2	8.9	13.0	9.7	12.6	9.1	11.8	14.5	11.8	13.8
Unqualified disagreement	52.8	53.3	52.8	51.2	32.5	47.5	51.7	36.4	48.7	50.6	44.1	50.0
Qualified disagreement	9.4	28.0	11.7	9.3	25.2	12.4	8.6	29.3	12.4	10.6	22.1	12.3
Don't know	9.0	6.7	8.8	16.7	12.2	16.0	13.1	10.1	12.6	8.1	12.5	8.5
N	523	75	599	514	123	638	429	99	532	385	136	414

TABLE 1.6.8

OPINION WHETHER LOCAL BOARD OF EDUCATION IS MAINLY A SELF-INTEREST GROUP

"Some people say that most people on the school board in this city are more concerned with their own interests that with education. Do you agree or disagree?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY[*]		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Tends to agree	33.3	26.6	32.3	30.7	43.5	33.0	34.5	46.8	37.0	77.1	86.4	78.1
Tends to disagree	59.8	71.9	61.6	64.6	51.8	62.3	56.9	45.2	54.5	22.9	13.6	21.9
Don't know	6.8	1.6	6.0	4.7	4.7	4.7	8.6	8.1	8.5	-	-	**
N[***]	366	64	430	384	85	469	290	62	354	288	103	311

[*] A variant question wording was used in the Waterbury pilot study: *"Some people say that the school board in this city is just as much a special interest group as any other group in town. Would you tend to agree or disagree with such a statement?"*

[**] Response category omitted in Waterbury questionnaire

[***] "Don't know" responses are omitted from base N.

In each city about 60 percent or more of the residents disagreed with a suggestion that local property taxes should be increased to improve the public schools (Table 1.6.7). It is difficult to interpret responses to this question because many respondents may have an objective awareness of a need or a lack of a need in a given community for funds to improve education through an increase of property taxes. However, the more interesting aspects of these data come by way of inter-racial comparisons. In Hartford, New Haven, and Waterbury, whites were more apt than Negroes to express unqualified disagreement with the suggestion. On the other hand, Negroes in all four cities were more apt than whites to express a qualified disagreement, although the nature of the qualifications were not recorded. There are no great differences among the cities.

Respondents were next asked whether they tended to agree or disagree with an allegation that members of the local board of education were "more concerned with their own interests than with education" (Table 1.6.8). This question, which is similar to items in anomie or alienation scales used by sociologists to measure estrangement from the community's leadership and a feeling of non-support from social institutions, was intended to index alienation from the officialdom of public education institutions in the community. The rate of "don't know" responses to this question was very high, ranging from a quarter to a third of the residents in each city. Furthermore, the responses from the Waterbury pilot study are not comparable, because a variant question wording was used and it is believed that the question was generally misunderstood in Waterbury. It is more meaningful, therefore, to compare the responses only of those respondents in Bridgeport, Hartford, and New Haven who ventured an opinion on this statement. Fifty-four percent in New Haven to 62 percent in Bridgeport and Hartford flatly disagreed with the statement. Five to eight percent insisted that the statement was true only of "a few" members of the local board of education. In Hartford and New Haven Negroes were substantially more apt than whites to agree with this assessment. The reverse obtains in Bridgeport, although it is only a six percent difference.

Public Assessment of Local Schools

Later in the interview respondents were asked several questions in which they were invited to say what they most liked about the public schools and then what the most disliked (Tables 1.6.10 and 1.6.11). However, they were first asked to assess their own level of information about public-school affairs (Table 1.6.9). Only six percent to 11 percent of the respondents in each city described themselves as "very informed." About a quarter to a third described themselves as "somewhat informed." Most residents in each city described themselves as "not very informed." The public's self-assessment of a general lack of information about public-school affairs in the community is reflected in an unusually large proportion of "don't know" responses to questions concerning what respondents like and dislike about the local schools. Upwards to half of the residents in each city gave "don't know" responses. In this context of generally low information about the schools, it is pertinent only to describe the responses of residents who felt well-enough informed to venture an opinion.

TABLE 1.6.9

PUBLIC'S SELF-ASSESSMENT OF INFORMATION LEVEL ABOUT LOCAL PUBLIC SCHOOLS AFFAIRS

*"About how much do you know about what goes on in the * * * public schools . . . would you say you are very informed, somewhat informed, or not very informed?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Very informed	9.0	5.3	8.5	5.2	9.8	6.1	7.5	5.1	7.0	11.1	8.1	11.1
Somewhat informed	26.2	29.3	26.5	26.6	34.1	28.0	32.5	24.2	31.1	33.7	38.2	33.7
Not very informed	61.6	65.3	62.1	63.7	53.7	61.8	58.2	68.7	60.1	51.6	51.5	51.8
Don't know	3.3	0.0	2.8	4.5	2.4	4.1	1.9	2.0	1.9	3.6	2.2	3.4
N	523	75	599	515	123	639	428	99	531	386	136	415

TABLE 1.6.10

CHARACTERISTIC OF PUBLIC SCHOOL LIKED MOST BY RESPONDENTS

*"If you had to pick what you like most about the * * * public schools, what would that be?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total*	113.7	100.0	111.9	112.3	110.8	111.8	121.4	118.1	120.6	120.9	116.5	120.3
Quality of teachers, *references to level of teaching, teaching techniques, etc. (i.e., high quality)*	32.2	47.7	34.7	28.4	30.4	28.8	32.9	40.9	33.8	30.3	16.7	30.1
Quality of administrators *(i.e., favorable)*	4.3	2.3	4.3	2.4	7.1	3.2	3.9	4.5	4.4	3.6	3.0	3.8
Social/intellectual/*attitudinal* **traits of students**	2.7	0.0	2.3	2.0	0.0	1.6	2.2	4.5	2.5	2.7	3.0	3.0
Facilities *(learning): references* **to books, libraries,** *scholarly or lab equipment,* **etc.** *(i.e. good facilities)*	5.1	9.1	5.7	4.0	5.4	4.2	4.4	4.5	4.4	6.3	10.6	7.6
Facilities *(plant): references* **to physical plant, buildings,** *gym & equipment, number of schools in city, lunch room or cafeteria, general quality/age of plant, etc. (i.e., adequate or good plant).*	10.2	31.8	13.3	11.5	1.8	9.7	19.3	11.4	17.8	19.9	16.7	19.9

TABLE 1.6.10 - Continued

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Teacher morale, salaries, *etc. (i.e., good working conditions)*	1.6	2.3	1.7	1.2	3.6	1.6	0.9	4.5	1.4	3.2	3.0	3.0
Curriculum, courses taught, *any reference to particular, courses, or special programs (i.e., a favorable mention)*	16.1	2.3	14.0	30.4	32.1	30.7	17.1	18.2	17.1	19.4	13.6	19.1
School budget *(i.e., adequate)*	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	0.0	1.9	1.3	2.3	1.4	2.3	3.0	2.1
Presence of minority groups, *favorable references to integration in schools, all other favorable references to mixed racial composition of schools*	2.7	0.0	2.3	1.6	5.4	2.3	6.1	2.3	5.4	1.4	7.6	2.1
Staff attitudes toward minority groups *(i.e., racial tolerance by staff)*	1.2	0.0	1.0	0.8	0.0	0.6	0.0	6.8	1.1	1.8	3.0	1.7
Pupil attitudes toward minority groups *(i.e., racial tolerance by students)*	1.2	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	2.3	0.7	0.9	1.5	0.8
Friendships with other students, teachers, etc.	0.4	0.0	0.3	2.0	1.8	1.9	1.8	0.0	1.4	2.7	4.5	3.0

TABLE 1.6.10 - Continued

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Bussing programs, etc. (i.e., approval of bussing programs).	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.4
Board of education, all favorable references	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.9	3.0	0.8
Discipline; favorable references to weak discipline or permissive climate.	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Discipline; favorable references to stong discipline	1.6	0.0	1.3	1.2	0.0	1.0	0.4	0.0	0.4	1.4	0.0	1.3
Some/all schools good, likes everything, *good education in general*	13.3	0.0	11.3	12.6	3.6	11.0	7.9	6.8	8.0	10.0	10.6	9.7
Some/all schools bad, dislikes everything. Doesn't like anything, *poor education in general*	17.6	4.5	15.7	6.7	19.6	9.1	16.7	6.8	15.3	8.6	7.6	8.1
Other	3.1	0.0	2.7	4.7	0.0	3.9	5.7	0.0	4.7	4.1	9.1	3.8
N[**]	255	44	300	253	56	309	228	44	275	221	66	236

[*] Totals exceed 100 percent because some respondents cited more than one liked trait.

[**] "Don't know" responses are omitted from base N.

TABLE 1.6.11

CHARACTERISTIC OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS LIKED LEAST BY RESPONDENTS

*"Now, if you had to pick what you don't like about the * * * public schools, what would that be?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total[*]	109.2	99.9	107.8	106.9	123.0	109.1	118.0	111.3	116.9	110.9	116.0	109.9
Quality of teachers; *references to level of teaching, teaching techniques, etc. (i.e., low quality).*	12.6	10.7	12.4	10.8	21.2	12.7	17.7	15.4	17.2	13.2	14.3	12.7
Quality of administrators *(i.e., unfavorable references*	3.5	0.0	3.2	2.9	1.9	2.5	9.1	5.8	8.4	5.2	1.6	4.8
Social/intellectual/*attitudinal* **traits of students** *(e.g., unfavorable references)*	4.2	0.0	3.8	5.8	1.9	5.1	4.1	1.9	3.7	7.5	4.8	7.4
Facilities *(learning): references to* **books, libraries,** *scholarly or lab equipment, etc. (i.e., poor or inadequate facilities)*	3.8	3.6	3.8	2.1	5.8	2.5	3.3	1.9	3.0	3.8	3.2	3.5
Facilities *(plant):references* **to physical plant, buildings,** *gym & equipment, number of schools in city, lunch room or cafeteria, general quality/age of plant, etc. (i.e., inadequate or poor plant)*	12.3	32.1	14.0	14.6	13.5	14.4	11.5	7.7	10.8	9.0	14.3	8.8

TABLE 1.6.11 - Continued

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Too crowded; references to 1/2 days of school because of space problems, classes too large because of inadequate space, etc.	8.8	3.6	8.2	8.3	15.4	9.6	4.9	3.8	4.7	3.3	3.2	3.5
Teacher shortage; classes too large because of teacher shortage, etc.	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.8	0.0	0.7	1.2	0.0	1.0	1.4	0.0	1.3
Bussing programs (i.e., objections to bussing programs, etc.)	4.6	3.6	4.4	2.1	1.9	2.0	10.3	3.8	9.1	1.9	4.8	2.6
Board of education, all negative references	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	1.0	2.9	0.0	2.4	1.4	7.9	1.8
Discipline; negative references to lack of discipline, weak discipline, or permissive climate	8.8	7.1	8.6	8.3	0.0	6.8	5.8	1.9	5.1	8.0	4.8	7.4
Discipline; negative references to strong discipline	0.7	0.0	0.6	2.5	1.9	2.4	0.0	1.9	0.3	0.5	1.6	0.4
A negative reference to the absence of religions observances in schools	1.4	0.0	1.3	2.9	1.9	2.5	0.4	0.0	0.3	2.4	0.0	2.2

TABLE 1.6.11 - Continued

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Teacher morale, salaries, *etc. (i.e., bad working conditions)*	2.8	3.6	2.8	1.7	5.8	2.4	2.0	1.9	2.0	5.2	4.8	4.8
Curriculum, courses taught, *any reference to particular courses or special programs (i.e., an unfavorable mention)*	6.3	7.1	6.3	5.8	17.3	7.9	9.1	5.8	8.4	9.9	7.9	9.2
School budget *(i.e., too small, inadequate)*	0.7	0.0	0.6	1.7	1.9	1.7	1.2	0.0	1.0	1.9	1.6	1.8
Presence of minority groups, *negative references to segregation in schools, all other negative references to homogeneous racial composition of schools.*	5.3	0.0	4.8	3.8	1.9	3.4	7.0	9.6	7.4	1.9	1.6	2.2
Staff attitudes toward minority groups; *i.e., racial prejudice by staff*	1.1	17.8	2.5	2.5	5.8	3.1	1.6	17.3	4.4	3.3	11.1	3.5
Pupil attitudes toward minority groups; *i.e., racial prejudice by students*	1.1	3.6	1.3	1.2	3.8	1.7	0.8	3.8	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0

TABLE 1-6-11 - Continued

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Some/all schools good, likes everything, *good education in general*	19.6	7.1	18.4	17.9	11.5	16.8	14.0	23.1	16.2	16.0	11.1	16.2
Some/all schools bad, dislikes everything. Doesn't like anything, *poor education in general*	9.1	0.0	8.6	7.1	3.8	6.5	8.2	3.8	7.4	9.0	9.5	9.2
Other reason	2.1	0.0	1.9	2.9	5.8	3.4	2.9	1.9	2.8	6.1	7.9	6.6
N**	285	28	315	240	52	292	243	52	297	212	63	228

---

*Totals exceed 100 percent because some respondents cited more than one dislike

**"Don't know" respnnses are omitted from base N.

In each city, roughly a third of those who ventured an assessment of the schools commended the quality of teachers or made references to the level of teaching, teaching techniques, etc. (Table 1.6.10). Ten percent (Hartford) to 20 percent (Waterbury) made favorable references to the physical facilities of the local schools, such as the physical plant, buildings, gymnasiums and equipment, number of schools in the city, lunchroom or cafeterias, and other references to adequate or exceptional physical facilities. In Bridgeport, New Haven, and Waterbury 14 percent to 19 percent made favorable references to the curricula in the local schools, such as courses taught and other references to particular courses or special programs mentioned in a favorable context. Thirty-one percent of those who ventured an assessment in Hartford favorably mentioned the curriculum. There were scattered responses to many other characteristics of the local schools in each city, but the small numbers of cases obviate the usefulness of comparisons.

Next the respondents were asked to express what characteristics they disliked most about the local public schools (Table 1.6.11). The distribution of responses to this question are much more diffuse than in the previous question, which makes even more difficult the characterization of these negative assessments of the schools. In fact, the most frequently mentioned response (16 percent to 18 percent) was not a negative assessment but rather, in effect, an objection to the question itself and an insistence that the schools were "good." Six percent to nine percent, however, made a general statement that the schools were "bad." There is, however, some limited substance in the particularistic negative criticisms. Twelve percent (Bridgeport) to 17 percent (New Haven) made critical mention of the quality of teachers and other negative references to the level of teaching, teaching techniques, etc. Nine percent to 14 percent made negative references to buildings and other physical facilities. Six percent (Bridgeport) to nine percent (Waterbury) made negative references to the curriculum, particular courses, etc.

This picture of the public's image of the schools may be rounded out by comparing the above questions with a similar question about parochial schools that was asked earlier in the interview. Respondents who had ever had a child in a parochial school, regardless of the child's present age, were asked what, in their opinion, was the main advantage of parochial schools (Table 1.6.12). The comparisons will be restricted to the white populations in each city because very few Negroes have had children in parochial schools. In each city, the most frequently mentioned advantage of parochial schools were references to better discipline, the learning of "respect," better character training, and similar responses. This category of responses varied from 28 percent in Hartford to 43 percent in New Haven. In Waterbury, 34 percent of the whites mentioned the superior teaching and teachers in theparochial schools. Fifteen percent in Waterbury mentioned the advantage of a better curriculum in the parochial schools.

TABLE 1.6.12

OPINION OF PARENTS ON MOST IMPORTANT SECULAR ADVANTAGE OF PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

(If presently has or has ever had children in parochial schools:) *"Aside from the advantages of religious training, what would you say is the most important advantage of parochial schools?"*

(Percentages or Cell Frequencies)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total*	126.0	-	125.0	110.1	-	110.1	121.5	-	121.6	119.0	-	119.0
Sisters better teachers, better staff, ***better level-quality teaching, personal attention, teaching techniques etc.***	15.3	(1)	15.5	20.6	-	20.6	31.6	-	30.1	33.6	-	33.6
Better curriculum, ***special programs, learns more, better education, and all other references to general quality of education, but no reference to teachers or teaching specifically.***	33.3	(2)	33.6	19.6	-	19.6	29.1	(1)	28.9	14.7	-	14.7
Better facilities, building, library, ***gym, laboratories, lunch rooms, cafeterias, etc.***	2.7	-	2.6	0.9	-	0.9	0.0	(2)	2.4	0.0	-	0.0

TABLE 1.6.12 - Continued

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
In own neighborhood, closer	1.8	-	1.7	0.9	-	0.9	1.3	-	1.2	6.0	-	6.0
Better discipline, *learns respect, better character training*	39.6	(1)	38.8	28.0	-	28.0	43.0	(1)	42.2	35.3	-	35.3
Prefers racial composition of students	0.9	-	0.9	0.0	-	0.0	1.3	-	1.2	0.0	-	0.0
Prefers class/ethnic composition of students	2.7	(1)	3.4	0.9	-	0.9	1.3	-	1.2	0.9	-	0.9
Advantages all religious, *traditional, etc.*	17.1	-	16.4	21.5	-	21.5	6.3	-	6.0	19.0	-	19.0
Any other answer not classifiable above	0.9	-	0.9	0.9	-	0.9	2.5	(1)	3.6	1.7	-	1.7
Don't know	11.7	-	11.2	16.8	-	16.8	5.1	-	4.8	7.8	-	7.8
N	111	5	116	107	-	107	79	4	83	116	-	116

---

*Totals exceed 100 percent or sums of cell frequencies may exceed N's because some respondents mentioned more than one trait.

Superior teaching and better curriculum were mentioned, respectively, by 32 percent and 29 percent in New Haven, by 21 percent and 20 percent in Hartford, and by 15 percent and 33 percent in Bridgeport. Six percent in New Haven to 22 percent in Hartford said that the main advantage of parochial schools was the religious training. These data show that, with the exception of the numerous references to discipline and religious training, the favorable assessments of parochial-school parents also tend to center on teaching and curricula. There were very few references to the physical facilities of parochial schools.

Summary

Responses indicate, on the face of it, a generally high valuation of education, general belief in the efficacy of education for social mobility, as well as a general acceptance of practices in curricula and class-room instruction that are sometimes taken to task by conservative critics. These patterns of responses are entirely expectable among urban populations in the Northeast. More interesting, however, are certain interracial differences. Negroes were consistently more apt than whites to express beliefs in the utilitarian value of education as the most important route of upward social mobility.

The one-half of the population in each city that was willing to venture an assessment of the public schools, concentrated their favorable and unfavorable assessments on teachers, quality of teaching, the curricula, and various aspects of the physical plant. There are very few references in either a favorable or unfavorable light to the administrations, budgetary allocations, minority groups, attitudes of pupils, boards of education or problems in discipline. Most of the praise as well as the criticism is directed at the most salient and visible aspects of the public-school organization in the community. Both the levels of information about public schools and the nature of the assessments are in all likelihood representative of similar middle-sized city populations in the North and West.

Chapter Seven

DE FACTO SCHOOL SEGREGATION AND PUBLIC OPINION

This is the second of three sequential chapters examining public opinion on community school problems. The issue of de facto school segregation, beliefs about the effects of desegregation on the quality of education, possible behavioral reactions of parents to these beliefs, and attitudes and beliefs about the idea of the "neighborhood school" are considered in this chapter. Special attention will be given to the opinions of white and Negro parents of school-age children. Chapter Eight is an examination of the closely related issues (that were current in 1966) of various bussing proposals to alleviate or end the structures of school segregation in the central cities.

Enrollment in Public, Parochial and Private Schools

Among the four cities, 27 percent (New Haven) to 36 percent (Waterbury) of residents had school-age children presently enrolled in public, parochial, or private schools (Table 1.7.1). Substantially larger proportions of Negroes than whites had school-age children enrolled in school, ranging from 3[illegible] percent in New Haven to 67 percent in Bridgeport. Each parent who then had one or more children enrolled in any type of school was coded to the type of school in such a way as to emphasize the 1966 level of parent-respondent experience with the public schools (Table 1.7.2). These data underestimate the proportions of households with one or more children enrolled in parochial and/or private schools, because households that had children in public and, in addition, private or parochial schools were coded in the public-school category. The categories, therefore, are made mutually exclusive in order to estimate the level of experience with racial imbalance in certain public schools. In 1966, 71 percent (Waterbury) to 83 percent (Hartford) of parents of school-age children had at least one child enrolled in public schools. Substantial proportions of parents of school-age children had all their children presently enrolled in predominantly Catholic parochial schools, ranging from 51 percent in Hartford to 27 percent in Waterbury. Small proportions of parents had all their children enrolled in private schools, ranging from less than two percent in Bridgeport, Hartford, and Waterbury to five percent in New Haven.

TABLE 1.7.1

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS HAVING CHILDREN IN ANY TYPE OF SCHOOL (1966)

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Had children in school (1966)*	29.8	66.7	34.6	28.0	45.8	31.3	26.2	30.8	27.2	34.0	48.5	36.0
No children or no children in school (1966)	70.2	33.3	65.4	72.0	54.2	68.7	73.8	69.1	72.8	66.0	51.5	64.0
N	528	75	604	520	123	644	431	100	535	390	137	419

---

*Includes a few respondents who had children in public schools outside the central-city municipality, usually in a suburban school.

TABLE 1.7.2

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS HAVING CHILDREN IN SCHOOL BY TYPE OF SCHOOL (1966)*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Public schools**	68.4	90.0	73.8	77.1	100.0	83.3	72.3	93.1	76.9	67.4	100.0	71.2
Parochial schools	29.7	10.0	24.8	20.8	0.0	15.2	21.4	6.9	18.2	31.0	0.0	27.4
Private schools	1.9	0.0	1.4	2.1	0.0	1.5	6.2	0.0	4.9	1.6	0.0	1.4
N	155	50	206	144	54	198	112	29	143	129	63	146

*When respondents had children in public and private (or parochial) schools, they were classified as parents of public-school children.

**Includes respondents who had children in public schools outside the central-city municipality, usually in suburban schools.

It is usually whites who have children in parochial schools. However, in New Haven and Bridgeport seven percent and ten percent, respectively, of Negro parents also reported having all their children enrolled in parochial schools. About one fifth of white parents in Hartford and New Haven had all their children enrolled in parochial schools compared to about 30 percent in Bridgeport and Waterbury.

1965-66 Levels of Experience with De Facto School Segregation*

A rough index to the then current experience with school segregation in these urban populations is shown in Table 1.7.3. These data show the 1965-66 percentage of Negro enrollment in the public school in which the child was enrolled in 1966 or, in the case of having children enrolled in several different schools, the school with the greatest percent of Negro enrollment in 1965-66. Parents with children enrolled in both public and parochial and/or private schools, were coded to the percent Negro in the public school or to the percent Negro in the public school with the greatest percent Negro enrollment. Most of the white parents who had at least one child enrolled in public school in 1966 were having little or no experience with racially imbalanced schools while most Negro parents were directly affected (Table 1.7.3). These data provide an interpretive context for the differential expressed attitudes and opinions toward school-segregation issues in each of the four communities.

While these data suggest the then current level of immediate experience with varying levels of racial composition in the child's school, they do not directly index the absolute level or degree of racial imbalance in the four urban school systems. Using the level of 50 percent or more Negro children enrolled in a school as the criterion of racial imbalance or segregation, the four systems varied widely in the proportions of elementary and junior high schools that were racially imbalanced in 1965: 12 percent of the schools in Waterbury were imbalanced, 22 percent in New Haven, 29 percent in Hartford, and 38 percent in Bridgeport.

The data presented in this chapter show distributions of responses in the general public for parents and non-parents alike. An analysis of responses for parents who had children enrolled in 1966 would be both pertinent and informative. However, some respondents other than those who had children enrolled in 1966 recently had children enrolled or, in the case of younger parents, expected to have their pre-school age children enrolled in the near future. These additional categories of parents, in addition to other interested and concerned non-parents, are the primary reasons for confining this preliminary analysis to the distribution of opinion in the general population. The proportion of parents with children currently enrolled in public schools and of parents with preschool-age children are roughly similar among the four central city populations. Therefore, variations among cities tentatively can be assumed to reflect real differences between the subpopulations of parents with children enrolled in 1966.

---

*Henry G. Stetler collected the background data on the racial compositions of the schools.

TABLE 1.7.3

PERCENT NEGRO ENROLLMENT IN PUBLIC SCHOOL IN CITY WITH GREATEST PERCENT NEGRO AMONG PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN WHICH PARENTS HAVE CHILDREN ENROLLED

(If had children in school in 1966)

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0 - 9 percent	23.8	4.6	17.9	54.9	5.9	38.6	21.8	0.0	15.9	57.5	6.6	51.9
10 - 19 percent	24.8	14.0	22.1	10.8	5.9	9.2	10.2	0.0	7.5	29.9	6.6	27.9
20 - 29 percent	22.8	7.0	17.9	2.0	0.0	1.3	11.5	7.4	10.3	0.0	1.6	0.0
30 - 39 percent	5.9	7.0	6.2	15.7	3.9	11.8	34.6	14.8	29.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
40 - 49 percent	4.0	0.0	2.8	2.0	9.8	4.6	14.1	11.1	13.1	6.9	36.1	6.7
50 - 59 percent	10.9	30.2	16.6	7.8	0.0	5.2	1.3	18.5	5.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
60 - 69 percent	5.0	27.9	11.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.8	14.8	6.5	4.6	29.5	9.6
70 - 79 percent	3.0	4.6	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.6	14.8	5.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
80 - 89 percent	0.0	4.6	1.4	6.9	70.6	28.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	19.7	3.8
90 - 100 percent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.9	1.3	1.3	18.5	5.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
N	101	43	145	102	51	153	78	27	107	87	61	104

The Neighborhood School

Respondents were introduced to the idea of the "neighborhood school" with the explanation by the interviewer that the phrase meant "where children go to the elementary school nearest to their home." Following this expalnation, all respondents were asked about how far they thought a child could walk to school and still be in the neighborhood (Table 1.7.4). Responses to this question provide a minimal background against which to interpret answers to subsequent questions about assessments of the neighborhood school idea. In addition, the question serves the purpose of fixing the referent of "neighborhood school" in the respondent's mind in order to make subsequent related questions more meaningful. Most respondents in each city mentioned an area of five blocks or less. About 30 percent mentioned distances between six and 11 blocks; only three to nine percent mentioned distances of 12 or more blocks.

There are important white-Negro differences in Table 1.7.4 in the assessments of how far a child can walk to school and still be in his own neighborhood. Negroes in each city had a spacially more constricted idea of the school neighborhood, more often mentioning a two to five block area, especially the four to five block area. White respondents have a more expansive idea of the school neighborhood area in part possibly because substantially fewer whites are parents of school-aged children. These data, however, suggest that larger proportions of Negroes than whites are likely to voice objections to proposals to have their children attend school in distant neighborhoods by walking more than five blocks away from their home.

Respondents were asked what, in their opinion, was the biggest advantage of a child going to school in his own neighborhood (Table 1.7.5). In each city, about 60 percent of the respondents said that the biggest advantage was that the school was simply closer. About a fifth to a quarter mentioned "safer traffic" and such things as fewer streets and intersections to cross on the way to school. Roughly one in ten mentioned certain time-cost advantages, and about one in ten mentioned the fostering of neighborhood feeling as an advantage. In each city, larger proportions of whites than Negroes mentioned the advantage of fostering neighborhood feeling and, especially, the advantage of a child attending school with his own neighborhood friends. There are large differences among cities in the mention of particular advantages, but these are not consistent. It is likely that some of the differences among cities and among whites and Negroes within cities reflect different ecological circumstances, such as density patterns, school districting, etc. An over-all impression emerges that the affinity for the neighborhood school is mainly based upon thoroughly practical considerations. Almost all respondents mentioned the practical considerations of safer traffic, closeness, or other time-cost advantages. The social-integration advantages of the neighborhood schools that are so often systematically articulated in the ideology of the neighborhood-school idea were not prevalently mentioned by whites or Negroes.

TABLE 1.7.4

PUBLIC'S SPATIAL-SIZE CONCEPT OF NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL AREA

"In terms of city blocks, how far would you say a third or fourth grade child could walk to school and still be in his own neighborhood?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
One block or less	2.3	4.0	2.5	2.3	2.4	2.4	1.4	4.0	1.9	2.9	1.5	2.9
2 - 3 blocks	20.5	44.0	23.4	18.9	29.3	21.0	15.9	28.3	18.1	22.1	15.4	22.0
4 - 5 blocks	33.3	30.7	33.1	30.0	43.1	32.5	37.1	40.4	38.0	26.0	38.2	26.8
6 - 7 blocks	22.6	12.0	21.2	20.9	9.8	18.7	19.4	13.1	18.1	19.0	19.9	19.1
8 - 11 blocks	11.9	9.3	11.5	13.6	4.1	11.8	15.0	4.0	13.0	12.5	11.8	12.1
12 - 20 blocks	3.6	0.0	3.2	7.0	5.7	6.8	6.3	3.0	5.6	7.8	5.9	7.7
Over 20 blocks	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.6	0.8	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.2	1.3	0.0	1.2
Don't know	5.7	0.0	5.0	6.6	4.9	6.3	4.7	7.1	5.1	8.6	7.4	8.2
N	523	75	599	513	123	637	428	99	531	385	136	414

TABLE 1.7.5

PUBLIC OPINION ON THE MAIN ADVANTAGE OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL IDEA

"There is a lot of talk these days about neighborhood schools--where children go to the elementary school nearest to their home. What do you think is the biggest advantage of a child going to school in his own neighborhood?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total*	149.2	105.3	143.6	141.7	125.3	138.3	149.6	127.7	145.1	147.6	119.2	145.4
Parents can know child's school friends	7.3	10.7	7.7	5.5	3.3	5.0	7.3	8.2	7.4	6.5	1.5	6.0
Neighborhood, community feeling fostered	7.3	1.3	6.5	10.9	5.7	9.9	12.0	4.1	10.4	9.1	3.7	8.7
Attends with children of same social background	5.0	5.3	5.0	3.5	4.1	3.6	9.2	4.1	8.1	4.9	2.2	4.6
Attends with children of same race	1.2	1.3	1.2	0.2	0.8	0.3	0.7	0.0	0.6	0.8	0.0	0.7
Attends with own neighborhood friends	20.7	4.0	18.6	21.1	11.4	19.2	21.8	12.2	20.1	19.2	5.1	18.1
Safer, doesn't cross intersections, etc.	21.5	50.7	25.1	20.3	17.9	19.8	21.4	27.6	22.5	30.1	16.2	29.5

TABLE 1.7.5 - Continued

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Costs less, more efficient, less time, *child spends more time at home*	10.0	13.3	10.4	11.9	8.1	11.2	8.9	3.1	7.8	8.3	9.6	8.9
Simply closer, within walking distance, *convenience, can go home to lunch*	67.6	10.7	60.5	59.2	61.8	59.7	61.7	51.0	59.7	60.8	64.7	60.4
Other advantages	1.9	0.0	1.7	1.2	0.8	1.1	1.2	3.1	1.5	2.1	3.7	2.2
No advantage	2.1	5.3	2.5	1.8	4.1	2.2	1.6	6.1	2.5	0.3	1.5	0.5
Don't know	4.6	2.7	4.4	6.1	7.3	6.3	3.8	8.2	4.5	5.5	11.0	5.8
N	521	75	597	512	123	636	426	98	528	386	136	414

*Totals exceed 100 percent because some respondents cited more than one "biggest" advantage.

This practical orientation toward the advantages of the neighborhood school is reflected in the pattern of responses to a subsequent question about the disadvantages of the neighborhood school (Table 1.7.6). This question was not very meaningful to many respondents and there was a heavy "don't know" response rate. Therefore, responses are shown only for those in the samples who had some opinion on this question. About seven in ten (eight in ten in Bridgeport) of those who offered an opinion simply said they saw no disadvantage at all to the neighborhood-school idea. Roughly one in ten mentioned the disadvantage that racially homogeneous neighborhood schools limited inter-racial contacts between children. In several cities, Negroes were more apt than whites to see certain disadvantages to the neighborhood-school idea, mentioning lowering the quality of education for some groups, entrenching the existence of poorer physical facilities, etc.

Desegregation and the Question of Withdrawal Thresholds

It is sometimes suggested that desegregation policies that result in substantially increased proportions of Negro children in formerly all-white schools may result in the schools becoming imbalanced again when white parents withdraw their children or abandon the neighborhood. The likelihood that parents would withdraw their children from the public schools in response to increasing levels of Negro enrollment is closely linked to beliefs about how desegregation affects the quality of education. Respondents were asked for agreement or disagreement with a statement asserting that the quality of education suffers in newly desegregated schools (Table 1.7.7). Responses to this item lend some interpretive context to three subsequent questions about probable reactions to newly desegregated schools. Upwards to a third of the general population in each city agreed with the statement, although many of these attached certain qualifications. Larger proportions of whites than Negroes in each city expressed unqualified agreement with the statement. Although majorities of both whites and Negroes disagreed with the statement, a greater percentage of Negroes expressed disagreement, ranging from 69 percent (New Haven) to 78 percent (Hartford).

Respondents were next asked two questions about their probable reactions to increasing levels of Negro enrollment in their child's school (Table 1.7.8 and 1.7.9). If the respondent had no children in school in 1966 or if they did not have children, they were asked to imagine what they would do if they did have children enrolled in such a school. The questions, of course, carry different meanings for Negroes and whites. As we have seen above, most Negro parents already have children in schools with sizeable, often predominant, proportions of Negro enrollments. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of Negroes already live in neighborhoods that are predominantly Negro.

Respondents were first asked if they would consider moving to another neighborhood if many Negro children started attending their child's school (Table 1.7.8). Sixty percent or more of the whites said they would not move. Upwards to 30 percent of the whites said they would consider moving under such conditions.

TABLE 1.7.6

PUBLIC OPINION ON THE MAIN DISADVANTAGE OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL IDEA

"Now, what would you pick as the major disadvantage of neighborhood schools?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No disadvantage	83.2	61.9	80.4	75.4	41.9	69.4	68.4	48.5	65.1	73.7	43.6	71.6
Lowers quality of education for some groups	2.8	3.2	2.9	2.4	15.1	4.6	4.1	13.2	5.7	3.6	8.5	3.6
Limits contact with children with different backgrounds	5.0	23.8	7.4	9.5	9.3	9.4	11.5	14.7	11.9	9.4	12.8	10.1
Limits contact with other races	1.6	0.0	1.4	3.4	7.0	4.2	4.4	7.4	4.8	1.6	5.3	1.8
Creates, maintains de facto racial segregation	0.9	1.6	1.0	1.7	9.3	3.0	5.2	10.3	6.0	1.6	6.4	1.5
Teachers, administrators discriminate	0.9	0.0	0.8	0.5	0.0	0.4	0.8	0.0	0.7	1.3	2.1	1.2
Poorer physical facilities	3.8	9.5	4.5	4.1	15.1	6.0	4.4	2.9	4.4	2.3	9.6	2.7
Other disadvantages	1.6	0.0	1.4	2.9	2.3	2.8	1.1	2.9	1.4	6.5	11.7	7.3
N*	422	63	486	410	86	497	364	68	436	308	94	328

*"Don't know" responses are omitted from base N.

TABLE 1.7.7

PUBLIC BELIEFS ABOUT EFFECTS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION ON QUALITY OF EDUCATION

"Some people feel that the quality of education goes down when many Negro children begin attending a school. Do you tend to agree or disagree with this idea?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unqualified agreement	22.4	16.0	21.5	19.8	8.1	17.5	22.6	19.2	22.0	20.1	16.9	20.3
Qualified agreement	12.4	5.3	11.4	11.6	10.6	11.4	10.1	9.1	9.8	12.9	8.1	12.7
Unqualified disagreement	45.0	60.0	47.0	45.1	48.8	45.7	42.6	34.3	40.9	46.7	50.7	46.8
Qualified disagreement	8.9	16.0	9.8	9.6	29.3	13.4	12.5	34.3	16.5	10.0	19.9	10.3
Don't know	11.4	2.7	10.3	13.9	3.3	12.0	12.2	3.0	10.8	10.3	4.4	9.8
N	518	75	594	510	123	634	425	99	528	379	136	408

TABLE 1.7.8

PUBLIC'S SELF-ASSESSMENT IF WOULD MOVE TO ANOTHER NEIGHBORHOOD IN REACTION TO SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

(If respondent had no children or no children presently in school, question was prefaced, "If you had children:)*Do you think you would consider moving to another neighborhood if many Negro children began attending your child's school?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Yes	28.9	4.0	25.7	30.5	5.7	25.6	27.9	8.4	24.4	27.1	6.6	26.2
No	61.7	93.3	65.7	59.8	91.9	66.0	61.7	90.5	66.9	63.6	92.6	65.2
Don't know	9.4	2.7	8.6	9.8	2.4	8.3	10.3	1.1	8.8	9.3	0.7	8.6
N	519	75	595	512	123	636	426	95	525	376	136	405

TABLE 1.7.9

PUBLIC'S SELF-ASSESSMENT IF WOULD WITHDRAW CHILD FROM SCHOOL IN REACTION TO SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

(If respondent had no children or no children presently in school, the question was prefaced, "If you had children:)*Would you ever consider taking your child out of the public schools and enrolling him or her in a parochial or private school if many Negro children began attending his or her school?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Yes, would consider	32.8	6.7	29.5	29.4	8.4	25.4	29.5	7.3	25.8	31.0	7.4	29.7
No, would never consider	58.1	93.3	62.6	60.7	89.1	65.9	61.1	92.7	66.6	58.8	90.4	60.5
Don't know	9.1	0.0	7.9	10.0	2.5	8.7	9.4	0.0	7.6	10.2	2.2	9.7
N	518	75	594	511	119	631	424	96	524	371	136	400

A similar pattern obtains when respondents were asked next if they would consider withdrawing their child from school and enrolling him in a private or parochial school in the event of the desegregation of their neighborhood school (Table 1.7.9). In each city, about 30 percent or more of the white respondents said they would consider doing this, although most said they would not. For most white respondents, of course, a decision to withdraw a child from a neighborhood public school would also entail a decision to move from the neighborhood, unless they could afford to enroll him in a private or parochial school. Of the three in ten whites who say they would consider such an action, many do not, in fact, have children in schools and many others may reconsider if actually faced with the alternative.

If respondents replied "yes" to the school withdrawal question in Table 1.7.9, they were asked what level or proportion of Negro children in the neighborhood school would cause them to consider withdrawing their child (Table 1.7.10). The most frequent proportion of Negro children mentioned by whites was the 50-59 percent range, but substantial proportions of whites mentioned smaller percentage levels. Ten to 14 percent mentioned the 40-49 percent range, 13 to 18 percent mentioned the 20-29 percent range, and 12 to 14 percent mentioned the range of less than 20 percent. Therefore, as many as a quarter of the whites say they would consider withdrawing their child before the percent Negro in the school reached a level representative of the proportion of Negro children in the school-aged population in the community. These data suggest rather low withdrawal thresholds--few of these whites would tolerate more than 50 percent Negro enrollment.

These data, of course, only show the prevalence of these sentiments in the white populations as a whole. Therefore, these data do not necessarily predict what white parents of elementary school-aged children would do concerning desegregation, for such behavior is linked not only to attitudes and beliefs about the effects of desegregation on the quality of education but also to the economic ability to act on these beliefs. An in-depth analysis of parents of children in elementary schools according to different socio-economic categories would reveal the potential of these sentiments for neighborhood change and possible flight from the public schools. In either case, a relatively high family income, coupled with negative sentiments about desegregation, would be important predictive factors.

Summary

In public opinion, the main advantages of the "neighborhood school" are linked to practical considerations although substantial proportions of respondents mentioned certain advantages of neighborhood cohesion. About a third of the white population in each city believes that school desegregation directly affects the quality of education. More than a quarter of the whites say they would consider leaving the neighborhood if their child's school were desegregated and upwards to a third say they would consider withdrawing their child from the public schools and enrolling him or her in parochial or private schools. The "withdrawal threshold" or the proportion of Negro children in the desegregating school that would prompt whites to consider withdrawing their child is considerably less than the proportion of Negro school-age children in the population.

TABLE 1.7.10

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION LEVELS AND PUBLIC'S SELF-ASSESSMENT OF OWN WITHDRAWAL THRESHOLD

(If would consider withdrawing child in reaction to school desegregation:) *"About how many Negroes could there be before you would consider taking your child out--would you say about 2 out of every 10 students, about 4 out of every 10 students, about 5 out of every 10 students, or how many would you say?"*

(Percentages or Cell Frequencies)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	-	100.0
1 - 9 percent	7.6	(1)	8.0	6.7	-	6.2	8.0	-	7.4	6.1	-	6.7
10 - 19 percent	4.7	-	4.6	5.3	-	5.0	5.6	-	5.2	7.0	-	6.7
20 - 29 percent	18.2	-	17.7	12.7	(1)	12.5	13.6	-	12.6	13.0	(1)	13.4
30 - 39 percent	5.3	-	5.1	6.0	-	5.6	7.2	(1)	7.4	6.1	-	5.9
40 - 49 percent	14.1	(1)	14.3	11.3	-	10.6	11.2	-	10.4	10.4	-	10.1
50 - 59 percent	37.6	(1)	37.1	43.3	(4)	43.1	32.8	-	31.8	34.8	(6)	36.1
60 - 69 percent	2.4	(1)	2.8	2.7	(1)	3.1	1.6	(1)	2.2	7.8	(1)	7.6
70 - 79 percent	2.4	(1)	2.8	2.0	-	1.9	3.2	-	3.0	1.7	-	1.7
80 - 89 percent	1.2	-	1.1	0.7	(1)	1.2	1.6	(1)	2.2	0.0	-	0.0
90 - 100 percent	0.6	-	0.6	0.7	(1)	1.2	3.2	(1)	4.4	2.6	-	2.5
Don't know	5.9	-	5.7	8.7	(2)	9.4	12.0	(3)	13.3	10.4	(2)	10.1
N	170	5	175	150	10	160	125	7	135	115	10	119

Chapter Eight

BUSSING PROPOSALS AND PUBLIC OPINION

This is the last of four chapters that examines public opinion on the related issues of race relations, education, educational institutions, and the issues surrounding segregated public schools in the four cities. In this chapter, the structure of public opinion in 1966 on various proposals for bussing white and Negro children within the city and to the suburbs is examined. At the time of the surveys, a number of bussing proposals had been suggested with varying prominence and with differing reactions in each of the communinies. Furthermore, the various proposals had received widely varying amounts of publicity in the local press and television. Therefore, differences in response patterns and levels of information between cities are attributable to both the amount of publicity they have received in each community and the level of interest in the proposals among respondents. For example, we would expect parents to have more interest in the proposals than non-parents, and parents who would be directly affected to have more interest than those who would not be affected. Most of the questions are treated as problems in general public opinion and asked of all respondents regardless of whether they had children in the public schools in 1966. Certain other questions, however, were asked only of parents who had school-age children in 1966.

Information and Attitudes Toward Bussing to Suburbs

In Bridgeport, Hartford, and New Haven, respondents were asked a series of three questions about then current proposals in each city to bus children to the suburbs to attend school (Tables 1.8.1, 1.8.2, 1.8.3). These questions were not asked in the Waterbury pilot study, where these particular proposals were also less relevant. Specific proposals for bussing Negro children to' suburbs in order to reduce the high levels of racial imbalance in the inner-city elementary schools had be proposed with more or less prominence in each of the three communities. Each respondent was asked to assess his own level of information about the suburban bussing proposals by asking if they had heard or read anything about bussing city children to schools in the suburbs (Table 1.8.1). Eighty-one percent in Hartford, 63 percent in New Haven, and 45 percent in Bridgeport had heard of the proposals. On the face of it, these data would indicate relatively high levels of information about the proposals in the general population, especially in Hartford, where the proposals were prominent and had received heavy coverage by the mass media.

TABLE 1.8.1

PUBLIC AWARENESS OF SUBURBAN BUSSING PROPOSALS IN 1966[*]

In the last year or so, have you heard or read anything about a plan to bus Hartford/ New Haven/Bridgeport children to schools in the suburbs?

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Yes	46.4	33.3	44.6	79.5	85.4	80.6	65.4	52.5	62.9
No	51.9	66.7	53.8	19.0	13.8	18.0	32.9	46.5	35.6
Don't know	1.7	0.0	1.5	1.6	0.8	1.4	1.6	1.0	1.5
N	522	75	598	516	123	640	428	99	531

TABLE 1.8.2

PUBLIC INFORMATION LEVELS ON PURPOSES OF SUBURBAN BUSSING PROPOSALS

(If has heard of suburban bussing plan:) *"Do you happen to know why some people feel that Hartford/New Haven/ Bridgeport children should be bussed to suburban schools*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total*	108.8	-	108.1	121.5	125.3	122.3	126.1	127.5	126.3
End school segregation in Hartford/New Haven/ Bridgeport; *to "integrate" schools or achieve "balanced" student composition*	63.2	(10)	60.5	48.3	42.2	46.9	66.5	47.5	63.1
Improve Negro education, *better schools in suburbs*	15.2	(1)	13.6	32.2	54.9	37.4	27.8	50.0	31.8
Civil rights group pressure	5.6	(1)	5.4	4.2	2.8	3.9	2.8	12.5	4.6
To end (Northend) crowding in low quality schools	11.2	(11)	17.0	23.7	25.4	24.1	14.8	12.5	14.3
Whites don't want Negroes attending schools in white areas	4.0	-	3.4	3.8	0.0	2.9	4.0	0.0	3.2
School board, administrators advocate	3.2	-	2.7	0.8	0.0	0.6	2.8	2.5	2.8
Compromise, temporary measure	0.0	-	0.0	1.3	0.0	1.0	0.6	0.0	0.5
Other reasons	1.6	-	1.4	3.0	0.0	2.3	0.6	2.5	0.9
All references to improved & expanded environment	4.8	-	4.1	4.2	0.0	3.2	6.2	0.0	5.1
N**	125	23	147	236	71	307	176	40	217

*Totals exceed 100 percent because some respondents gave more than one reason

**"Don't know" responses and respondents who misunderstood question and gave meaningless responses are omitted from base N.

TABLE 1.8.3

PUBLIC OPINION ON SUBURBAN BUSSING PROPOSALS

"How do you feel about the idea of bussing children to schools in the suburbs in order to eliminate crowding and too many Negroes in (Northend) schools? Do you think it is a good idea or a poor idea?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Good	25.7	54.7	29.3	38.4	64.2	43.3	29.3	59.6	34.8
Poor	52.7	36.0	50.7	40.1	18.7	35.9	50.2	24.2	45.6
Ambivalent, heavily qualified	10.9	1.3	9.7	11.6	8.1	11.1	10.3	7.1	9.6
Don't know	10.7	8.0	10.4	9.9	8.9	9.7	10.1	9.1	10.0
N	522	75	598	516	123	640	426	99	529

Larger proportions of whites than Negroes had heard of the proposals in Bridgeport and New Haven, but in Hartford the reverse was true, where 85 percent of Negro respondents had heard of the proposal compared to 80 percent of the whites.

Those who had heard of the bussing to suburbs plans were asked why they thought such proposals were being made (Table 1.8.2). This question elicited a high "don't know" response rate, often exceeding one third of the respondents. In addition, up to ten percent of the respondents misunderstood the question and were coded to a provided category. Therefore, half or fewer of the residents in each city were well enough informed to have an idea on the reasons for the proposed bussing plans. However, those who understood the question and gave a reason for the proposals were usually apprised that the bussing proposals were intended to ameliorate racially imbalanced schools, improve the quality of education for Negro children, to alleviate crowding, etc.

The next question, which was addressed to all respondents regardless of their information about the bussing proposals and their purposes, minimally informed them of the purposes of the plans by asking their opinion on bussing children to the suburbs "in order to eliminate crowding and too many Negroes in the [inner city] schools" (Table 1.8.3). Fifty-five to 64 percent of the Negroes in each city thought the plan was a good idea. Whites in each city were substantially less approving of the plan, varying from 26 percent and 29 percent in Bridgeport and New Haven to 38 percent in Hartford. On the face of it, these data indicate that in 1966 suburban bussing proposals were generally unpopular among the white populations: 40 percent in Hartford to 50 and 53 percent in New Haven and Bridgeport were out-and-out disapproving of such plans and about 11 percent expressed ambivalence.

Suburban Bussing Proposals and Public Opinion in Hartford

The line of questioning about suburban bussing was pursued in depth in Hartford where at the time of the survey various proposals had received the most publicity, discussion, and controversy. Hartford respondents were asked a series of eight additional questions about the proposals to bus children to various suburban communities in the Hartford metropolitan ring (Tables 1.8.4 to 1.8.11). Hartford residents were the best informed about the purposes of the proposals, as well as the most approving (Tables 1.8.1, 1.8.2, 1.8.3). The two information-level questions (Tables 1.8.1 and 1.8.2) are complemented in Hartford by a question asking respondents if they had discussed the bussing plans with their friends or neighbors (Table 1.8.4). Discussion of the proposal is interpreted as a rough index to the level of interest and concern with the issue. Less than a third of the general population had discussed the issue although substantially more Negroes (38 percent) than whites (29 percent) reported discussing it.

TABLE 1.8.4

DISCUSSION OF SUBURBAN BUSSING PROPOSAL WITH FRIENDS (HARTFORD)

"In the last year or so have you and your friends or neighbors discussed the plan to bus children to schools in the suburbs?"

(Percent)

	HARTFORD		
	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Yes	29.4	38.2	31.1
No	69.1	61.8	67.6
Don't know	1.5	0.0	1.3
N	517	123	639

TABLE 1.8.5

BELIEFS ABOUT WHICH COMMUNITY GROUPS FAVOR SUBURBAN BUSSING PROPOSALS (HARTFORD)

"What are some of the groups or people here in Hartford that you think might be in favor of bussing school children to schools in the suburbs?"

(Percent)

	HARTFORD		
	White	Negro	All
Total*	123.6	128.6	124.8
Chamber of Commerce	2.0	1.4	1.8
Civil Rights groups	18.0	46.4	24.1
School board, administrators	15.3	7.2	13.6
Teachers	6.3	4.3	5.9
Whites, white parents	6.3	4.3	5.9
Negroes, Negro parents	36.5	44.9	38.3
Churches, church associations, clergymen	5.5	5.8	5.6
Both white and Negro parents, parents	3.1	1.4	2.8
All groups in favor or against, everyone, a consensus for or against, etc.	3.5	1.4	3.1
Various civic groups, other than civil rights and chamber of commerce	5.1	5.8	5.2
Low status people, ordinary, uneducated, poor people, etc.	2.4	1.4	2.2
High status people, the rich, well-to-do, the taxpayers, etc.	2.0	0.0	1.5
Suburbanites	1.6	0.0	1.2
Bigots	0.4	0.0	0.3
Other	3.1	0.0	2.5
Politicians, elected officials, etc.	3.9	0.0	3.1
None	8.6	4.3	7.7
N**	255	69	324

*Totals exceed 100 percent because some respondents mentioned more than one group

**"Don't know" responses are omitted from base N.

TABLE 1.8.6

BELIEFS ABOUT WHICH COMMUNITY GROUPS OPPOSE SUBURBAN BUSSING PROPOSALS (HARTFORD)

"And what might be some of the groups or people here in Hartford that you think might be against the bussing of children to schools in the suburbs?"

(Percent)

	HARTFORD		
	White	Negro	All
Total*	114.0	108.9	111.5
Civil Rights groups	0.8	0.0	0.7
School board, administrators	2.5	1.8	2.3
Teachers	2.5	3.5	2.7
Whites, white parents	30.7	50.9	34.6
Negroes, Negro parents	7.0	17.5	9.1
Churches, church associations, clergymen	1.6	1.8	1.7
Both white and Negro parents, parents	6.9	1.8	5.0
All groups in favor or against, everyone, a consensus for or against, etc.	7.5	3.5	6.7
Various civic groups, other than civil rights, and chamber of commerce	1.2	3.5	1.7
Low status people, ordinary, uneducated, poor people, etc.	3.3	3.5	3.4
High status people, the rich, the well-to-do, the taxpayers, etc.	12.0	3.5	10.4
Suburbanites	11.6	0.0	9.4
Prejudiced people	5.0	0.0	4.0
Other	6.9	1.8	5.0
Parents whose children are involved or affected regardless of race	1.2	0.0	1.0
None	13.3	15.8	13.8
N**	241	57	298

---

*Totals exceed 100 percent because some respondents mentioned more than one group.

**"Don't know"responses are omitted from base N.

TABLE 1.8.7

PUBLIC BELIEFS ABOUT WHETHER MOST NEGROES FAVOR OR OPPOSE SUBURBAN BUSSING PROPOSALS (HARTFORD)

"What about most Negroes here in Hartford--do you think that they are in favor or against the idea of bussing children to schools in the suburbs?"

(Percent)

	HARTFORD		
	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
In favor	47.2	49.6	47.6
Indifferent, they don't care	3.9	7.3	4.6
Against	11.9	10.6	11.6
Mixed or split, some do, some don't, etc.	34.3	26.8	33.0
Don't know	2.7	5.7	3.3
N	513	123	637

TABLE 1.8.8

PUBLIC BELIEFS ABOUT WHETHER SUBURBANITES FAVOR OR OPPOSE SUBURBAN BUSSING PROPOSALS (HARTFORD)

"What about people who live in the suburbs--do you think they are in favor of the idea, or against it?"

(Percent)

	HARTFORD		
	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
In favor	22.0	26.9	22.9
Indifferent, they don't care	2.3	3.2	2.4
Some areas in favor, some against	14.9	29.0	17.6
Against	60.8	40.9	57.1
N*	396	93	489

*"Don't know" responses are omitted from base N.

TABLE 1.8.9

PARENTS' OPINION ON SUBURBAN BUSSING PARTICIPATION FOR OWN CHILD (HARTFORD)

(If parent of school-age child:) *"Would you be in favor of sending your child(ren) to a school in the suburbs by bus, or would you be against it?"*

(Percent)

	HARTFORD		
	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
In favor	26.5	53.3	34.3
Depends on which suburb, how far	4.1	6.7	4.8
Indifferent, don't care	2.0	3.3	2.4
Against	63.9	33.3	55.1
Don't know	3.4	3.3	3.4
N	147	60	207

TABLE 1.8.10

PARENTS' PREFERENCES AMONG HARTFORD SUBURBS* FOR BUSSING OWN CHILD (HARTFORD)

(If parent of school-age child would consider bussing own child:)
"If you had your choice, to which suburb or town would you most like your child(ren) to be bussed?"

(Percent)

	HARTFORD		
	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Bloomfield	7.1	16.7	11.5
East Hartford	4.8	0.0	2.6
Farmington	2.4	0.0	1.3
Glastonbury	2.4	2.8	2.6
New Briton	2.4	0.0	1.3
Simsbury	4.8	0.0	2.6
West Hartford	19.0	41.7	29.5
Wethersfield	4.8	0.0	2.6
Windsor	4.8	0.0	2.6
Other	7.1	0.0	3.8
Don't know, don't care, makes no difference	40.5	38.9	39.7
N	42	36	78

*Six suburbs, Avon, Manchester, Newington, Plainfield, Rocky Hill, and Unionville,received no mention.

TABLE 1.8.11

PUBLIC OPINION ON WHICH GOVERNMENTS SHOULD PAY ADDITIONAL COSTS TO CITY OF SUBURBAN BUSSING PROGRAM (HARTFORD)

"Of course, bussing the children to schools in the suburbs costs the city additional money. Who do you think should pay the additional cost--the city of Hartford, the city and the suburbs, the state, or the Federal Government?"

(Percent)

	HARTFORD		
	White	Negro	All
Total*	121.3	108.1	118.6
Hartford	24.1	26.8	24.6
City and suburbs	19.2	11.4	17.6
State	29.6	31.7	30.0
Should not be supported	6.1	0.8	5.0
Federal Government	29.0	26.0	28.4
Don't know	13.3	11.4	13.0
N**	489	123	613

---

[*] Totals exceed 100 percent because some respondents mentioned more than one category.

[**] Respondents who misunderstood question and gave meaningless responses are excluded.

When asked what "groups or people" they thought favored the suburban bussing plan, nearly half of the Negro and white Hartford samples gave "don't know" answers, which indicates a low level of information about the sources of support for the proposals (Table 1.8.5). Therefore, the distribution of responses is presented only for those who ventured a substantive opinion concerning the sources of support for the plan. Most Negroes mentioned "civil rights groups" or "Negroes and Negro parents." Whites also prominently mentioned these groups, but less prevalently than Negroes. Whites more often than Negroes mentioned "school boards, school administrators," and other groups, indicating a less monolithic image of the sources of support for the plan.

When asked what "groups or people" they thought were against the plan, more than half of the Negro and white respondents gave "don't know" answers (Table 1.8.6). Therefore, the percentage distributions are again shown only for those who expressed a substantive opinion. The most frequent response among both whites and Negroes was that "whites and white parents" were against the plan. Fifty-one percent of the Negroes thought that "whites and white parents" were opposed to the plan and 18 percent thought that "Negroes and Negro parents" were opposed to the plan. Again, whites who expressed an idea about what groups were opposed to the plan tended to give a more variable array of responses than Negroes. For example, whites more often than Negroes mentioned opposition by "high status people" and "suburbanites."

All respondents were next asked whether, in their opinion, the majority of Negroes in Hartford were for or against the bussing plan (Table 1.8.7). Nearly half of the whites and Negroes thought that most Negroes favored the bussing plan. Thirty-four percent of the whites and 27 percent of the Negroes expressed the opinion that the Negro population was mixed in their reactions to the plan, some favoring it and others against it. Slightly more than one in ten whites and Negroes says that, in their opinion, most Negroes were against the bussing-to-the-suburbs plan.

Respondents were next asked what, in their opinion, was the position of suburbanites toward the proposed bussing plans (Table 1.8.8). About a quarter declined to second-guess the opinion of suburbanites on this issue and gave "don't know" responses. Therefore, percentage distributions are shown only for respondents who ventured a substantive opinion on how people in the suburbs felt on this issue. Twenty-two percent of whites and 27 percent of Negroes thought that suburbanites generally favored the plan. Fifteen percent of whites and 29 percent of Negroes thought that residents in certain suburbs would favor the plan while those in other areas would not. Sixty-one percent of whites and 41 percent of Negroes thought that suburbanites would be opposed to the plan.

The next two questions were asked only of parents of school-age children in Hartford, and emphasis will be given here to the opinions of Negro parents. Parents were asked if they would favor or oppose sending their child to a school in the suburbs by bus (Table 1.8.9). Fifty-three percent of Negro parents favor the plan. Thirty-three percent of Negro parents expressed unqualified disapproval of the plan for their child. Those parents who expressed approval of the idea were asked to which Hartford suburban community they would prefer to bus their child (Table 1.8.10). Forty percent had no preference ("don't know"). Among Negroes

42 percent expressed a preference for West Hartford and 17 percent a preference for Bloomfield.

Concluding this series of questions, all Hartford respondents were asked what government agencies, in their opinion, should pay the additional cost to the city of bussing children to the suburbs (Table 1.8.11). City, suburban, state, and federal governments all received prominent mention. State and federal government were most frequently mentioned, closely followed by mentions of city and joint city-suburban financial support. There were no important racial differences in the mention of various governments. Whites were somewhat more apt to favor joint financing by city and participating suburban governments.

Within-City Bussing Proposals and Public Opinion

Later in the interview, all respondents in each city were asked a sequence of five questions about various within-city bussing proposals which had been recently proposed in several of the cities. Anticipating that there would be generally low levels of information about such proposals, most of which had receive little publicity, the proposals were posed to respondents as hypothetical. First, respondents were asked if they would favor the abandonment of all school districting and permitting parents to send their children to any school in the city they chose (Table 1.8.12). In Hartford, New Haven, and Waterbury up to two thirds of the Negroes agreed with the idea, while substantially more than half of the whites in each city disagreed with the idea, rising to over 63 percent in New Haven. In Bridgeport, a reversal of the pattern of Negro responses obtained.

Respondents were next asked for their opinion of a proposal to bus Negro children to schools in white neighborhoods (Table 1.8.13). In Bridgeport, New Haven, and Waterbury, fewer than a fifth of the white respondents agreed with the idea, and this rises to 24 percent in Hartford. About 30 percent of the Negroes in Bridgeport and Waterbury agree with the idea, and this rises to 46 percent and 59 percent in New Haven and Hartford. Upwards to two thirds or more of the whites in each city disagreed with the idea. A quarter of the Negroes in Bridgeport and Hartford disagreed with the idea, and this rises to 36 percent and 56 percent in New Haven and Waterbury.

Respondents in Bridgeport, Hartford, and New Haven were asked next if they favored, on the other hand, bussing white children into Negro neighborhoods to attend school (Table 1.8.14). The overwhelming majority of whites disagreed with the idea in each city. Negroes tended slightly toward agreement in Bridgeport and New Haven, and the proportion rises to two to one in agreement with the statement in Hartford. A similar question asked only in Waterbury (Table 1.8.15) shows that nearly 60 percent of Negroes and 47 percent of whites agreed with a statement that any bussing program should involve both white and Negro children but that parents should have the final say about their children leaving the neighborhood to attend school.

TABLE 1.8.12

PUBLIC OPINION ON PROPOSAL TO ABANDON SCHOOL DISTRICTING AND TO GIVE FREE CHOICE OF CHILD'S SCHOOL BY PARENTS

"First, some people have said that parents should be allowed to send their children to schools anywhere in the city, regardless of where they live. How do you feel about that idea?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY*		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agree	32.2	24.0	31.3	32.9	67.5	39.6	28.1	61.6	34.7	39.2	67.4	41.2
Disagree	57.6	64.0	58.3	57.6	22.8	50.8	63.2	27.3	56.2	52.7	27.4	51.1
Mix, both agree & disagree	5.0	10.7	5.7	5.5	4.1	5.2	5.2	7.1	5.5	4.2	3.0	4.1
Don't know	5.2	1.3	4.7	3.9	5.7	4.4	3.5	4.0	3.6	3.9	2.2	3.6
N	519	75	595	510	123	634	424	99	527	385	135	413

---

*A variant wording was used in the Waterbury pilot study: *"Some people have said that all children should be allowed to attend school anywhere in the city that their parents want regardless of the neighborhood they live in. How do you feel about that idea?"*

TABLE 1.8.13

PUBLIC OPINION ON PROPOSAL TO BUS NEGRO CHILDREN TO WHITE NEIGHBORHOOD

"Others have said that Negro children should be taken by bus to schools in white neighborhoods. How do you feel about that idea?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agree	19.0	30.7	20.4	24.3	59.3	31.1	19.1	45.5	24.1	17.5	29.6	19.2
Disagree	69.2	24.0	63.3	62.4	24.4	54.9	67.1	36.4	61.2	70.4	56.3	69.3
Mix, both agree & disagree	5.0	40.0	9.6	5.9	9.8	6.6	6.4	14.1	7.8	5.5	5.9	5.4
Don't know	6.8	5.3	6.6	7.5	6.5	7.4	7.5	4.0	7.0	6.5	8.1	6.1
N	516	75	592	510	123	634	425	99	528	382	135	411

TABLE 1.8.14

PUBLIC OPINION ON PROPOSAL TO BUS WHITE CHILDREN TO NEGRO NEIGHBORHOODS

"Some people have said that white children should be taken by bus to schools in Negro neighborhoods. How do you feel about that idea?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY*		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agree	14.7	33.3	17.2	14.7	55.3	22.6	13.9	43.4	19.3	22.8	45.2	25.3
Disagree	76.4	25.3	69.8	74.5	27.6	65.3	76.5	40.4	69.7	62.8	44.4	60.6
Mix, both agree & disagree	3.1	38.7	7.6	4.3	9.8	5.4	5.2	12.1	6.4	6.3	6.7	6.6
Don't know	5.8	2.7	5.4	6.5	7.3	6.8	4.5	4.0	4.5	8.1	3.7	7.5
N	516	75	592	510	123	634	425	99	528	382	135	411

*A variant question wording was used in the Waterbury pilot study: *"Some people have said that both Negro and white children should be taken by bus to schools in different neighborhoods. How do you feel about that idea?"*

TABLE 1.8.15

PUBLIC OPINION ON PROPOSALS TO BUS WHITE AND NEGRO CHILDREN WITH FINAL DECISION BY PARENTS (WATERBURY)

"Some people have said that both Negro and white children should be bussed to schools in different neighborhoods, but that individual parents should have the final say about whether or not their child is sent to a school outside his neighborhood. How do you feel about that suggestion?"

(Percent)

	WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agree	47.2	59.6	49.0
Disagree	40.1	28.7	39.0
Mix, both agree and disagree	3.2	4.4	3.2
Don't know	9.5	7.4	8.8
N	379	136	408

Respondents were next asked for their assessments of the value of children attending school in their own neighborhoods, which is a reference to the "neighborhood school" idea (Table 1.8.16). Most whites agreed with the statement (81 percent to 92 percent) and 33 percent to 55 percent of the Negroes agreed. Negroes in each city, especially Hartford, were substantially more apt to make qualified or mixed responses to the statement. Twenty-seven percent to 37 percent of the Negroes, however, flatly disagreed with the statement. When respondents were asked which people or groups they thought should have the final decision about sending children out of the neighborhood to attend school, "parents (or guardian)" was the most frequently mentioned by half or more whites and Negroes (Table 1.8.17). Generally, "school board, school officials," was the next most frequently mentioned category. In each city, Negroes were substantially more apt than whites to emphasize the importance of this decision being made by parents. On the other hand, whites were more apt than Negroes to assert that school boards and school officials should make this decision.

Negro Public Opinions on Bussing

In the supplementary interview schedule that was administered to Negroes only, in addition to the regular schedule, a series of five questions was asked of Negro parents of school-aged children about their satisfaction with their child's school and their attitudes toward the bussing proposals (Tables 1.8.18 to 1.8.22). The number of cases often is very small and the sampling errors, therefore, are large. However, these data yield some provisional information about the prevalence of certain attitudes among Negro parents.

First, parents were asked whether, in the absence of any districting restrictions, they would want to send their child to school in another neighborhood if no free bus service were provided (Table 1.8.18). Fifty-eight percent (New Haven) to 86 percent (Bridgeport) said they would not be interested in such an arrangement. The few that replied "yes" (N = 7 to N = 22) were asked, "Why would you do that?" (Table 1.8.19). Although the extremely small N's preclude all but the roughest impressions, most of the parents mentioned better physical and educational facilities in some other school. The parents (N = 17 to N = 43) who replied "no" were asked why they would keep their child in the present school (Table 1.8.20). The most frequent response was that their present school was "adequate," varying from 43 percent in Waterbury to 84 percent in Bridgeport. Next most frequently mentioned was transportation problems, ranging from 12 percent in Bridgeport to 36 percent and 42 percent in Waterbury and Hartford.

Finally, an alternative contingency was posed to Negro parents of having school bus transportation provided (Table 1.8.21). They were asked whether they would, under this condition, prefer to send their child to a school in another neighborhood. In Hartford, New Haven, and Waterbury, 70, 61, and 48 percent, respectively, said they would send their child by bus to another neighborhood if free bus service were provided. Of the few (N = 8 to N = 39) Negro parents who indicated they preferred to keep their child in his present school, most cited the adequacy of the present school, although some mentioned transportation problems and distance (Table 1.8.22).

TABLE 1.8.16

PUBLIC OPINION ON IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING THE NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL

"Finally, some people have said that the most important thing is that children should go to schools in their own neighborhoods. How do you feel about that idea?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agree	92.1	50.7	86.7	84.3	33.3	74.3	80.7	40.4	73.1	87.9	55.1	85.9
Disagree	3.5	26.7	6.6	9.0	30.1	13.1	12.5	37.4	17.2	5.2	29.4	6.8
Mix, both agree & disagree	1.9	20.0	4.2	3.7	32.5	9.3	4.7	17.2	7.0	3.1	11.8	3.9
Don't know	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.9	4.1	3.3	2.1	5.1	2.7	3.7	3.7	3.4
N	519	75	595	510	123	634	425	99	528	381	136	410

TABLE 1.8.17

PUBLIC PREFERENCES FOR DECISION-MAKING GROUPS ON BUSSING PROPOSALS

"Which people or groups in this city do you think should have the final say about whether children should be taken outside their own neighborhood to attend school?"

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total*	104.5	100.0	103.9	106.9	105.0	106.4	108.1	109.2	108.4	105.4	102.5	105.6
Parents, guardians	47.8	73.3	50.9	46.4	65.9	50.2	55.5	69.4	58.1	52.0	55.9	52.7
All the people, the public, *by a referendum*	10.8	10.7	10.8	15.3	3.3	12.9	13.9	5.1	12.1	7.8	2.2	7.8
School board, school officials, etc.	27.3	8.0	25.0	21.7	17.1	20.9	23.5	20.4	23.0	32.6	26.7	31.8
Elected officials, such as mayor, city council, etc.	5.2	0.0	4.6	7.2	1.6	6.1	6.1	4.1	5.7	3.4	3.0	3.6
Other community leaders, city fathers, etc.	0.6	2.7	0.8	0.6	0.8	0.6	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.0	0.0	1.0
Civil rights groups--NAACP, Urban League, etc.	0.2	1.3	0.3	0.0	3.3	0.6	0.2	3.1	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.7
Business groups, other private organizations	0.6	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.2

TABLE 1.8.17 - Continued

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Other groups, *includes mentions of PTA*	1.2	0.0	1.0	0.4	0.0	0.3	1.9	0.0	1.5	1.0	0.7	1.0
Mentioned that whites should decide	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know	10.6	4.0	9.8	15.1	13.0	14.6	5.6	6.1	5.9	6.5	14.0	6.8
N	517	75	593	511	123	635	425	98	527	383	136	412

*Totals exceed 100 percent because some respondents mentioned more than one group.

TABLE 1.8.18

NEGRO PARENTS' WILLINGNESS TO SEND CHILD TO SCHOOL IN ANOTHER NEIGHBORHOOD WITHOUT FREE BUS TRANSPORTATION

(If parent of school-age child:) *"If your child were permitted to attend any school here in * * * but free transportation was not available, do you think you would send him to a school other than the one he is now attending?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Yes	14.0	35.7	41.9	33.8
No	86.0	64.3	58.1	66.2
N	50	56	31	65

TABLE 1.8.19

NEGRO PARENTS' REASON FOR PREFERENCE FOR SCHOOL IN ANOTHER NEIGHBORHOOD WITHOUT FREE BUS TRANSPORTATION

(If parent of school-age child and would send child to school in another neighborhood:) *"Why would you do that?"*

(Cell Frequencies)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Better physical facilities elsewhere	(3)	(8)	(4)	(8)
Better teachers *elsewhere*	(1)	(7)	(7)	(7)
Fewer Negroes *elsewhere*	-	-	-	(1)
Better class students *elsewhere*	-	-	(1)	(1)
Now in segregated school	(1)	(1)	(1)	-
Present school overcrowded	-	(1)	-	-
Would get better education and opportunities in another school	(1)	(2)	(2)	(4)
Other reason	-	(2)	-	(3)
Don't know	(1)	(2)	-	(1)
N*	7	20	13	22

---

*Column total exceeds base N because some respondents mentioned more than one reason.

TABLE 1.8.20

NEGRO PARENTS' SOURCE OF PREFERENCE FOR SCHOOL IN OWN NEIGHBORHOOD

(If parent of school-age child and would not send child to school in another neighborhood:) *"Why wouldn't you do that?"*

(Percentages or Cell Frequencies)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total*	99.9	100.1	-	104.8
Present school is adequate	83.7	47.2	(11)	42.8
Better parent-teacher relationships	0.0	0.0	-	2.4
Social advantages of local school	0.0	0.0	-	9.5
Should stay in Negro neighborhood	0.0	0.0	(1)	0.0
Difficult to arrange transportation, too far	11.6	41.7	(4)	35.7
Physical strain on child	2.3	2.8	-	2.4
Emotional or psychological strain on child	0.0	0.0	-	2.4
Simply wants to keep child nearby	0.0	2.8	-	0.0
Could not afford to send elsewhere, transportation, too expensive, etc.	2.3	2.8	(1)	2.4
Other reason	0.0	2.8	-	4.8
Don't know	0.0	0.0	-	2.4
N	43	36	17	42

---

*Totals exceed 100 percent because some respondents mentioned more than one category.

TABLE 1.8.21

NEGRO PARENTS' PREFERENCES FOR SCHOOL IN ANOTHER NEIGHBORHOOD WITH FREE BUS TRANSPORTATION

(If parent of school-age child:) *"If school bus transportation was provided and you had your choice, would you send your child to a school in another neighborhood?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Yes	20.0	70.2	61.3	48.5
No	80.0	26.3	29.0	51.5
Don't know	0.0	3.5	9.7	0.0
N	50	57	31	66

TABLE 1.8.22

NEGRO PARENTS SOURCE OF SATISFACTION WITH PRESENT SCHOOL

(If parent of school-age child and would not send child to school in another neighborhood:) *"Why wouldn't you do that?"*

(Percentages or Cell Frequencies)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total*	100.1	-	-	103.0
Present school is adequate	94.9	(10)	(5)	82.4
Better parent-teacher relationships	2.6	-	-	0.0
Social advantages of local school	0.0	(1)	-	0.0
Should stay in Negro neighborhood	0.0	(1)	(2)	5.9
Difficult to arrange transportation, too far	0.0	(4)	(1)	11.8
Physical strain on child	2.6	-	-	2.9
N	39	15	8	34

*Totals exceed 100 percent and sums of cell frequencies may exceed N's because some respondents mentioned more than one category.

Summary

Public opinion among whites and Negroes on a variety of real and hypothetical bussing proposals to alleviate or eliminate racial imbalance in the pubilc schools has been described. Generally, whites tend to be "conservative" about the maintenance of the neighborhood school and are relatively reluctant to have their children participate in bussing programs. Negroes, who generally are more directly affected by several of the bussing proposals, tend to see less virtue in the neighborhood school and are more inclined to react favorably to participation in certain bussing schemes.

Chapter Nine

URBAN PROBLEMS AND PUBLIC OPINION

This report is concluded by a description of public opinion on other city problems in each of the four urban communities. These data permit an assessment of how the public perceives other important issues facing the communities and, for certain problem areas, what kinds of solutions the public would propose if they were to participate effectively in community decision-making.

Perceptions of Community Problems

Respondents were asked to select from a list on a printed card the problem that, in their opinion, was the most important problem in the community (Table 1.9.1). In Bridgeport, juvenile delinquency (32 percent), crime (29 percent), housing (28 percent), air pollution (22 percent), and schools (16 percent) were most frequently mentioned. There were, furthermore, substantial racial differences. Bridgeport whites were more apt than Negroes to mention air pollution, crime, and juvenile delinquency. Bridgeport Negroes were more apt than whites to mention schools (29 versus 15 percent), housing (67 versus 22 percent), and urban renewal (16 versus 6 percent). In Hartford, juvenile delinquency (30 percent), housing (30 percent), and crime (28 percent) were most frequently mentioned by the general population. Hartford Negroes were more apt than whites to mention crime (42 percent versus 24 percent), and housing (61 percent versus 22 percent) as the major community problems. In New Haven, housing (30 percent), schools (21 percent), juvenile delinquency (20 percent), and crime (17 percent), were most frequently mentioned by the general population. New Haven Negroes were substantially more likely than whites to mention housing (59 percent versus 23 percent) as the major problem in the community. In the Waterbury general population, taxes (32 percent) led the list, followed by housing (23 percent), juvenile delinquency (21 percent), and schools (17 percent). Waterbury whites were more likely than Negroes to mention taxes (34 percent versus 12 percent) whereas Negroes were much more apt to mention the problem of housing (65 percent versus 20 percent).

Certain regularities among cities in the estimation of important community problems are evident from Table 1.9.1. Crime, juvenile delinquency, housing, and schools are prominently mentioned in each community.

TABLE 1.9.1

ASSESSMENT OF MOST IMPORTANT CITY PROBLEM

*"Some of the things on this card are often mentioned by people as city problems. Which of these do you think is the most important problem here in * * * ?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total*	173.8	197.4	176.4	171.1	210.7	178.7	162.0	166.4	162.6	146.7	169.1	148.0
Air pollution	23.4	14.7	22.3	11.5	0.8	9.4	16.4	3.0	13.7	6.8	1.5	6.3
Schools	14.6	29.3	16.4	20.6	24.4	21.3	20.6	23.2	21.1	16.4	16.9	16.7
Crime	30.9	14.7	28.8	24.1	42.3	27.6	15.9	21.2	16.8	7.0	16.2	8.0
Housing	22.1	66.7	27.6	22.4	61.0	29.8	23.4	58.6	30.1	20.3	64.7	23.0
Taxes	8.8	6.7	8.5	16.1	13.0	15.5	16.4	10.1	15.1	34.1	12.5	32.4
Public transportation	3.6	0.0	3.2	6.0	4.1	5.6	5.8	2.0	5.3	4.2	2.2	3.9
Sanitation	5.8	4.0	5.5	5.4	8.1	6.0	4.9	4.0	4.7	6.3	10.3	6.1
Race relations, minority groups	11.7	5.3	10.9	12.5	19.5	13.8	14.5	14.1	14.3	5.5	11.8	5.6
Juvenile delinquency	33.8	22.7	32.3	31.3	26.0	30.3	20.3	21.2	20.3	20.8	19.9	21.1
Urban renewal	6.0	16.0	7.2	6.4	3.3	5.8	11.2	2.0	9.4	9.4	4.4	9.2
Streets and highways	7.5	8.0	7.5	6.0	4.1	5.6	5.4	3.0	4.9	9.1	2.9	8.7
Unemployment	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.7	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.2
Other problems	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.8	0.5	1.0	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.7
Water pollution	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.8	0.0	0.6	0.9	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know	5.0	9.3	5.7	6.6	4.1	6.3	5.1	3.0	4.9	6.0	5.1	6.1
N	521	75	597	515	123	598	428	99	531	384	136	413

*Totals exceed 100 percent because some respondents mentioned more than one "most important" problem.

There are also some consistent white-Negro differences in each of the four cities. Whites consistently more often mention air pollution and taxes as the major community problems. On the other hand, Negroes consistently more often mentioned schools and housing as outstanding community problems. Sixty percent or more of the Negroes in each city mentioned the problem of housing. These data suggest that Negro-white differentials in the perceptions of the most pressing community problems reflect socio-economic differences between the races. Negroes, who are often of low socio-economic status and rent their homes, see adequate housing as a major problem. Negroes, many of whom have experience with inadequate and de facto segregated schools, also tend to view the school situation as an outstanding problem. On the other hand, whites, who are more apt to own their home and to be middle-class, see taxes as a problem area.

The emphasis of Negroes on the housing problem as the most pressing community problem is indicated further when, in the supplementary interview schedule, they were asked what, in their opinion, was the "biggest problem facing the Negro community" (Table 1.9.2). Up to a quarter of the Negroes in each city did not have an opinion on this issue and are therefore omitted from the percentage distribution. Of those who had an opinion, 59 to 69 percent mentioned housing as the biggest problem facing the Negro community. Lack of job opportunities and problems of organizing the Negro community were also prominently mentioned in each city. Hartford was the only community where Negroes prominently (19 percent) mentioned schools as an important problem facing the Negro community.

Immediately following the question asked in Table 1.9.1, all respondents were asked to select from the printed card what, in their opinion, they thought "various leaders [in the community] think is the biggest problem" (Table 1.9.3). Second guesses of what leaders felt varied widely between communities and there were few consistent and substantial emphases. Bridgeport residents most frequently felt urban renewal was considered most important by that community's leadership. In Hartford, schools, race relations, closely followed by crime, housing, and taxes were all mentioned by less than a fifth of the respondents. In New Haven, urban renewal received the greatest mention (25 percent) followed by housing (17 percent). In Waterbury, taxes received the greatest mention (25 percent) followed by urban renewal (18 percent). Generally, there is a rough correspondence between respondents' own estimations of the most important community problems and those which they second-guessed the community's leadership to assess as the most important problems.

In the supplementary schedule, a similar question was asked of Negro respondents concerning what, in their estimation, most Negro leaders thought was the biggest problem (Table 1.9.4). There was a high "don't know" response to this question, varying up to nearly half of the Negro respondents in New Haven. Therefore, the percentage distribution is only for those Negro respondents who ventured an opinion on what Negro leaders in the community thought was the major problem. Upwards to half or considerably more of those who replied thought that housing was the outstanding problem in the minds of most Negro leaders, the proportion varying from 46 percent in Waterbury up to 67 percent in Hartford. Civil Rights legislation, the lack of job opportunities, school segregation, and problems in the organization of the Negro community were also prominently but variously mentioned among the four communities.

TABLE 1.9.2

NEGRO RESPONDENTS' ASSESSMENT OF MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM FACING LOCAL NEGRO COMMUNITY

*"In your opinion, what is the biggest problem facing the Negro community here in * * * ?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total[*]	122.1	134.3	131.2	118.0
Housing conditions, availability of adequate housing	66.2	68.9	66.2	59.0
Lack of civil rights legislation	7.4	2.2	3.9	3.0
School segregation, *poor schools, etc.*	4.4	18.9	5.2	4.0
Lack of job opportunities	23.5	20.0	20.8	18.0
Discrimination in public facilities	2.9	5.5	1.3	11.0
Police brutality	0.0	2.2	0.0	1.0
Problems of organizing the Negro community	8.8	14.4	22.1	14.0
Problem of Negro leadership	7.4	2.2	9.1	7.0
No problem	1.5	0.0	2.6	1.0
N	68	90	77	100

---

[*] Total exceeds 100 percent because some respondents mentioned more than one "biggest" problem.

TABLE 1.9.3

RESPONDENTS SECOND-GUESSING LOCAL COMMUNITY LEADERSHIPS' ASSESSMENT OF MOST IMPORTANT CITY PROBLEM

*"What do you think most of the various leaders here in * * * think is the biggest problem?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	121.8	100.0	119.0	134.0	135.5	134.1	129.0	117.3	126.8	114.7	124.4	115.7
Air pollution	14.5	5.3	13.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	8.7	4.1	7.8	1.6	1.5	1.7
Schools	7.9	2.7	7.2	18.5	12.4	17.3	12.9	9.3	12.3	13.2	8.9	12.5
Crime	13.7	2.7	12.3	11.5	25.6	14.2	3.5	8.2	4.4	4.5	5.2	4.4
Housing	11.2	6.7	10.6	11.7	24.0	14.0	16.2	22.7	17.2	8.9	24.4	9.8
Taxes	9.6	1.3	8.6	14.0	8.3	12.9	8.9	3.1	7.8	25.7	12.6	24.6
Public transportation	1.2	0.0	1.0	4.9	0.0	3.9	2.8	1.0	2.5	1.3	2.2	1.5
Sanitation	1.9	0.0	1.7	2.1	3.3	2.4	2.1	1.0	1.9	1.8	0.0	1.7
Race relations, minority groups	9.6	2.7	8.7	16.5	12.4	15.7	13.8	11.3	13.4	5.5	16.3	6.6
Juvenile delinquency	10.6	5.3	9.9	8.8	10.7	9.1	8.0	8.2	8.0	8.7	6.7	8.3
Urban renewal	14.8	24.0	16.0	12.1	5.0	10.7	28.8	9.3	25.0	18.8	8.1	18.3
Streets and highways	7.9	22.7	9.7	10.1	6.6	9.4	7.0	16.5	8.7	10.0	13.3	10.7
Unemployment	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.8	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other problems	0.6	1.3	0.7	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.2	1.0	0.4	0.0	3.7	0.5
Don't know	18.3	25.3	19.3	19.5	23.1	20.3	15.9	21.6	17.2	14.7	21.5	15.1
N	519	75	595	514	121	636	425	97	528	381	135	410

---

[*] Totals exceed 100 percent because some respondents mentioned more than one category.

TABLE 1.9.4

NEGRO RESPONDENTS' SECOND GUESSING NEGRO COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP'S ASSESSMENT OF MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM IN NEGRO COMMUNITY

*"In your opinion, what do most Negro leaders here in * * * seem to think is the biggest problem?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total*	99.9	125.6	121.0	112.1
Housing conditions, availability of adequate housing	56.4	66.7	52.0	46.3
Lack of civil rights legislation	14.5	6.4	18.0	9.8
School segregation, *poor schools, etc.*	0.0	17.9	14.0	7.3
Lack of job opportunities	16.1	19.2	11.0	23.2
Discrimination in public facilities	0.0	6.4	2.0	7.3
Police brutality	0.0	0.0	2.0	1.2
Problems of organizing the Negro community	12.9	6.4	14.0	8.5
Problems of Negro leadership	0.0	1.3	8.0	6.1
No problem	0.0	1.3	0.0	2.4
N**	62	78	50	82

*Totals exceed 100 percent because some respondents mentioned more than one category.

**"Don't know" responses are omitted from base N.

What people consider as community problems locates the topic of concern and public opinion into certain issue areas but this alone does not indicate the public's level of concern with these problems. A frequently used index of the salience of issues in public opinion is the extent to which people discuss the issues with their friends and associates. The amount and extent of discussion is a simple index of people's involvement with issues and indexes their level of concern. The level of interest in public issues is also a rough index of people's willingness to act upon their beliefs through political participation. Immediately following the question in Tables 1.9.1 and 1.9.3, all respondents were asked if they had discussed any of the city problems on the printed card with their "various friends and acquaintances" and, if so, with how many (Table 1.9.5). Forty-five percent (Waterbury) to 65 percent (Bridgeport) had not discussed any of the problems with anyone during the past several weeks. However, 11 percent to 20 percent had discussed one or more of these problems with seven or more persons. Although nearly half or more of the respondents do not discuss such issues and public opinions in their informal conversations, sizeable proportions do discuss them and smaller proportions discuss them widely with numerous friends. Negroes were more apt than whites to be non-discussants except in Hartford where the reverse was true.

In the continuation of this line of questioning, all respondents were asked whether, in their opinion, job opportunities in the community were "good, fair or poor" (Table 1.9.6). About six out of ten persons in New Haven and Waterbury to three quarters in Bridgeport and Hartford thought that job opportunities were "good." Only three percent to nine percent described job opportunities as "poor." In each city, a smaller proportion of Negroes than whites described job opportunities as "good," while more often than whites describing them as "fair" or "poor." Twenty percent of Waterbury Negroes described job opportunities as "poor."

The Problem of Housing

Respondents were next asked for their assessments of housing conditions in their communities (Table 1.9.7). Less than a third of the samples in each city described them as good; only five to eight percent of Negroes said they were "good." For whites, the most frequent (about 40 percent) response in each city was "fair." Most Negroes (52 to 67 percent) described housing conditions as "poor." Those who described housing conditions as "fair" or "poor" were asked, in their opinion, "What would be the best way for the city to improve housing conditions" in the community (Table 1.9.8). The most frequently mentioned categories were "eliminate slums,""urban redevelopment," "new housing," etc. For the city to require landlords to keep property in good repair and for the city to provide more middle-income housing were next most frequently mentioned, although by small proportions, in each city.

TABLE 1.9.5

DISCUSSION OF VARIOUS CITY PROBLEMS WITH FRIENDS

"During the last several weeks, have you ever discussed any of these city problems with your various friends and acquaintances?" (If "Yes":) *"How many different people did you discuss any of these problems with?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Has not discussed with anyone	64.4	73.3	65.4	60.8	54.5	59.6	49.9	59.6	52.0	44.8	53.7	45.0
1 - 2 people	5.8	9.3	6.2	7.6	17.1	9.4	8.7	15.2	9.8	10.2	11.9	10.2
3 - 4 people	9.8	2.7	8.9	8.7	8.9	8.8	13.6	11.1	13.0	13.0	14.2	13.3
5 - 6 people	7.3	1.3	6.5	8.9	6.5	8.5	8.7	9.1	8.7	9.9	6.0	9.2
7 or more people	12.1	0.0	10.7	12.6	9.8	12.1	17.3	4.0	14.7	19.5	14.2	19.9
Don't know	0.6	13.3	2.2	1.4	3.3	1.7	1.9	1.0	1.7	2.6	0.0	2.4
N	520	75	596	515	123	639	427	99	529	384	134	413

TABLE 1.9.6

ASSESSMENT OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES IN LOCAL COMMUNITY

*"How do you feel about job opportunities here in * * * ? Would you say that they are generally good, fair, or poor?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Good	77.2	62.7	75.4	81.9	49.6	75.6	59.4	46.5	56.8	62.1	40.4	59.9
Fair	16.7	32.0	18.6	12.2	35.0	16.6	25.8	32.3	27.3	27.0	38.2	27.8
Poor	2.9	2.7	2.8	2.3	10.6	4.1	6.1	13.1	7.4	7.5	19.9	8.9
Don't know	3.3	2.7	3.2	3.5	4.9	3.8	8.7	8.1	8.5	3.4	1.5	3.4
N	522	75	598	515	123	639	426	99	528	385	136	414

TABLE 1.9.7

ASSESSMENT OF HOUSING CONDITIONS IN LOCAL COMMUNITY

*"What about housing conditions here in * * *--would you say that they are generally good, fair, or poor?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Good	30.1	4.0	26.9	38.8	8.1	32.9	33.0	7.1	28.2	30.1	5.1	28.5
Fair	42.3	25.3	40.1	40.0	34.1	38.8	43.1	41.4	42.9	43.1	31.6	41.3
Poor	23.6	66.7	28.9	16.3	52.8	23.5	19.0	51.5	25.0	19.5	63.2	23.4
Don't know	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.9	4.9	4.9	4.9	0.0	4.0	7.3	0.0	6.8
N	522	75	598	515	123	639	427	99	529	385	136	414

TABLE 1.9.8

PUBLIC OPINION ON BEST WAY CITY COULD IMPROVE LOCAL HOUSING CONDITIONS

(If assessment of housing conditions is "fair" or "poor":) *"In your opinion what would be the best way the city could improve housing conditions here in * * * ?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Eliminate slums, urban redevelopment, newer housing	21.3	5.8	18.7	30.9	41.1	33.8	32.7	30.0	31.8	49.6	55.5	49.4
Enforce building codes, enforce zoning	3.8	1.4	3.4	7.4	6.5	7.1	5.0	5.6	5.1	6.3	7.8	6.8
End racial discrimination in housing	0.9	4.3	1.5	0.4	9.3	2.8	2.7	14.4	5.7	0.0	7.0	0.8
City should require owners to keep property up	18.9	17.4	18.7	12.6	13.1	12.7	11.2	22.2	13.9	7.6	5.5	7.2
Build more middle income housing	14.5	55.1	21.4	11.9	6.5	10.4	13.8	14.4	13.9	11.3	7.8	10.9
Lower rents, rent control, etc.	11.5	8.7	11.1	10.2	2.8	8.1	5.8	4.4	5.4	2.1	1.6	1.9
Remodel old buildings	0.9	0.0	0.7	0.4	1.9	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.9	0.4	0.0	0.4

TABLE 1.9.8 - Continued

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Build more and better low-income housing	5.6	0.0	4.7	6.3	1.9	5.1	6.9	2.2	5.7	4.2	2.3	4.2
Lower property taxes	0.9	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.5	0.4	1.1	0.6	2.5	0.0	2.3
Neighborhood and city planning	1.8	0.0	1.5	1.4	0.9	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.8
Stop destroying sound housing, but not necessarily remodel	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.4	1.1	0.6	0.8	0.0	0.8
Other way	2.4	0.0	2.0	2.5	1.9	2.3	4.2	0.0	3.1	3.4	1.6	3.0
Don't know	17.2	7.2	15.5	15.1	14.0	14.8	16.2	4.4	13.4	10.9	10.9	11.7
N	338	69	407	285	107	393	260	90	352	238	128	265

An additional question related to the problem of housing was asked of Negroes in the supplementary interview schedule. Negroes were asked if, in their opinion, landlords in the community discriminated against Negro tenants by way of making them pay higher rents (Table 1.9.9). Fifty-three to 63 percent in each city replied "yes." An additional six percent to 13 percent thought that "a few" landlords practiced this kind of discrimination. More than a fifth in each city thought there was no such discrimination by landlords against Negroes in their community.

The Police and Public Opinion

All respondents were asked to express their satisfaction or dissatisfaction "with the kind of job the police are doing" (Table 1.9.10). About two-thirds of the general population in each city expressed general "satisfaction" with the police. About another fifth said they were "somewhat satisfied." Eight and nine percent (Hartford and New Haven) to 12 and 14 percent (Bridgeport and Waterbury) expressed "dissatisfaction." In each city except Bridgeport, Negroes more often expressed dissatisfaction and the Negro-white differential was most pronounced in Waterbury where over 26 percent of the Negro sample expressed dissatisfaction. Bridgeport was the only city where Negroes more often than whites expressed satisfaction with the police (80 percent versus 63 percent).

Those respondents who were only "somewhat satisfied" or "dissatisfied" with police performance in the community were asked what, in their opinion, was the best way the work of the community's police department could be improved (Table 1.9.11). For the population as a whole, the most frequent response (20 to 41 percent) was to increase the size of the police force. A suggestion that the police should solve problems in the quality, selection, and training of police officers was mentioned by about a fifth in three of the cities. That the police could best improve their performance by enforcing law more rigorously was also mentioned by a fifth of the respondents in Waterbury and Bridgeport. There are also important white-Negro differences in the content of suggestions to improve the police's work. Poor treatment of racial and ethnic minorities by police was mentioned by substantial numbers of Negroes in New Haven (11 percent) and Waterbury (19 percent). Negroes were more apt to mention problems of quality, selection, and training whereas whites were more apt to suggest increasing the size of the force.

Public attitudes toward the police in Hartford have been extensively analyzed in McCaghy, Allen, and Colfax [1968]. The authors concluded that "Whether there is a 'problem' of police-community relations in Hartford and cities similar to Hartford depends on how you look at it. From the broadest perspective, approximately two thirds of the population are clearly satisfied with the performance of their city police, and a similar proportion generally disagrees with criticisms commonly leveled against police. From the Negro viewpoint, however, the picture is somewhat different: less than half are clearly favorable toward the police. If, in fact, this critical group represents a major portion of the population with which police must deal, then from the policeman's viewpoint there is a serious problem in police-community relations in such communities."

TABLE 1.9.9

NEGRO RESPONDENTS' BELIEFS ABOUT RENT DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGROES BY LOCAL LANDLORDS

*"Do you think that many landlords here in * * * make Negroes pay more rent just because they are Negroes?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Yes	60.0	54.5	62.6	53.0
No	21.3	20.3	21.2	25.4
A few do	13.3	13.0	9.1	6.0
Don't know	5.3	12.2	7.1	15.7
N	75	123	99	134

TABLE 1.9.10

PUBLIC SATISFACTION WITH LOCAL POLICE JOB PERFORMANCE

*"How do you feel about the kind of job the police are doing here in * * * ? Would you say you are satisfied, somewhat satisfied, or dissatisfied?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Satisfied	63.0	80.0	65.2	67.2	53.7	64.7	71.3	55.1	68.1	67.0	41.9	65.5
Somewhat satisfied	23.8	6.7	21.6	21.7	26.8	22.7	19.6	20.4	19.7	19.5	24.3	19.3
Dissatisfied	12.3	12.0	12.2	7.2	13.0	8.3	6.5	17.3	8.9	11.7	26.5	13.5
Don't know	1.0	1.3	1.0	3.9	6.5	4.4	2.6	7.1	3.4	1.8	7.4	1.7
N	522	75	598	516	123	640	428	98	529	385	136	414

TABLE 1.9.11

PUBLIC OPINION ON BEST WAY CITY COULD IMPROVE WORK OF POLICE DEPARTMENT

(If "somewhat satisfied" or "dissatisfied" with local police performance:) *"What in your opinion would be the single best way in which the work of the * * * police department could be improved?"*

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Solve problems in quality, selection, and training of officers	14.9	0.0	13.9	17.4	24.5	19.2	21.4	29.7	23.8	18.3	21.7	19.1
Increase size of force	41.0	21.4	39.6	42.3	38.8	41.4	22.3	13.5	20.5	26.7	8.7	23.5
Solve problems in police administration, etc.	9.6	0.0	8.9	4.7	4.1	4.5	9.8	10.8	9.9	11.7	5.8	11.0
Should enforce laws more rigorously, don't ignore violations, should be tougher, etc.	19.7	50.0	21.8	15.4	12.2	14.6	15.2	8.1	13.2	19.2	15.9	19.9
End poor treatment of racial and ethnic minorities, etc.	1.6	7.1	2.0	4.0	4.1	4.0	2.7	10.8	4.6	2.5	18.8	3.7

TABLE 1.9.11 - Continued

	BRIDGEPORT			HARTFORD			NEW HAVEN			WATERBURY		
	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All	White	Negro	All
End political interference	3.7	0.0	3.5	1.3	2.0	1.5	2.7	0.0	2.0	7.5	1.4	6.6
End police "brutality"	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	2.0	1.5	4.5	8.1	5.3	0.0	8.7	1.5
Other	1.6	7.1	2.0	2.7	0.0	2.0	8.0	0.0	6.0	1.7	2.9	1.5
Don't know	8.0	14.3	8.4	10.7	12.2	11.1	13.4	18.9	14.6	12.5	15.9	13.2
N	188	14	202	149	49	198	112	37	151	120	69	136

Summary

Public attitudes and opinion toward a variety of urban problems, especially housing, and the police, have been reviewed. Crime, Juvenile delinquency, housing, and schools emerge as important problems in the public's estimation. Perception of the most pressing community problems by whites and Negroes tends to reflect socio-economic differences--Negroes tend to emphasize the problem of inadequate housing in the community. The public tends to believe that the community's leadership also perceive urban problems in a roughly similar hierarchy of importance. Public opinion on housing and the police were given additional analysis.

REFERENCES

Allen, Irving L., J. David Colfax, and Henry G. Stetler
1965 Metropolitan Connecticut: A Demographic Profile. Storrs, Connecticut: Institute of Urban Research and the University of Connecticut.

Allen, Irving L., and J. David Colfax
1967 Urban Sample Survey Field Procedures: Materials and Strategies. Storrs, Connecticut: Institute of Urban Research and University of Connecticut.

Allen, Irving L.
1968 "Selecting an Economic Probability Sample of Negro Households in a City." Forthcoming in the Journal of Negro Education.

Allen, Irving L., and J. David Colfax
1968 "Respondents' Attitudes Toward Legitimate Survey Research in Four Cities." Forthcoming in Journal of Marketing Research in November, 1968.

Backstrom, Charles H., and Gerald D. Hursh
1963 Survey Research. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press.

Freedman, Ronald, Pascal K. Whelpton, and Arthur A. Campbell
1959 Family Planning, Sterility and Population Growth. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company.

Hansen, Morris H., William N. Hurwitz, and William G. Madow
1953 Sample Survey Methods and Theory. Volume I, Methods and Applications. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Kish, Leslie
1949 "A Procedure for Objective Respondent Selection Within the Household." Journal of the American Statistical Association 44:380-387.

Kish, Leslie
1965 Survey Sampling. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

McCaghy, Charles H., Irving L. Allen, and J. David Colfax
1968 "Public Attitudes Toward City Police in a Middle-Sized Northern City." Criminologica 6(May):14-22.

Trohdahl, Verling C., and Roy E. Carter, Jr.
1964 "Random Selection of Respondents in Households in Telephone Surveys." Journal of Marketing Research 1(May):71-76.

U.S. Bureau of the Census
1961a U.S. Census of Housing: 1960. Volume III, City Blocks, Series HC(3), Nos. 94, 96, 99, 102. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Bureau of the Census
1961b U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts. Final Report PHC(1)-19, 61, 102, 167. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Bureau of the Census
1967 Current Population Reports. Special Census. Special Census of the New Haven SMSA April 5, 1967, Series P-28, No. 1459. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

PART II

COMMUNITY LEADERS: CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES

PART II

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES . . . . *iii*

Chapters

Page

1. INTRODUCTION 1
2. METHOD 3
3. GENERAL LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE 7
4. THE SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF GENERAL AND INSTITUTIONAL LEADERS 15
5. INSTITUTIONAL-GENERAL LEADERS' PERCEPTIONS OF MAJOR COMMUNITY PROBLEMS 33
6. COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP AND EDUCATION 39

REFERENCES 45

PART II

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

2. 2. 1 Institutional Leaders 5

2. 3. 1 Distribution of Leadership Nominations, by City 8

2. 3. 2 Institutional Affiliations of General Leaders 10

2. 3. 3 Selected Demographic Characteristics, Five Cities 11

2. 3. 4 Institutional Affiliations of Top-Ranking Leaders, by City . 13

2. 4. 1 Place of Birth, Institutional-General Leaders, by City . . . 16

2. 4. 2 Years in Connecticut, Institutional-General Leaders, by City 17

2. 4. 3 Place of Residence of Institutional-General Leaders 19

2. 4. 4 Population Per Square Mile, Central Cities, 1960 19

2. 4. 5 Place of Residence, Members of the Boards of Manufacturing Establishments Employing 500 or More Persons, 1966 20

2. 4. 6 Place of Residence, Members of the Boards of Commercial Banks, 1966 21

2. 4. 7 Age, Institutional-General Leaders, by City 23

2. 4. 8 Race, Institutional-General Leaders, by City 25

2. 4. 9 Educational Attainment, Institutional-General Leaders, by City 26

2. 4.10 Type of School of Undergraduate Attendance, Institutional-General Leaders, by City 27

2. 4.11 Income of Head, Institutional-General Leaders, by City . . . 29

2. 4.12 Religion, Institutional-General Leaders, by City 30

2. 4.13 Religious Composition, Four Cities, 1966 31

Table		Page
2. 5. 1	Rank Order of City Problems as Perceived by Institutional-General Leaders, by City	34
2. 5. 2	Most Important Consideration, Institutional-General Leaders, by City	36
2. 5. 3	Most Important Consideration by Institutional-General Leadership Affiliations, All Cities	37
2. 6. 1	Evaluations of Schools Relative to Those in Other Communities of Same Size, Institutional-General Leaders, by City . . .	40
2. 6. 2	Perceptions of Educational Problems, Institutional-General Leaders, by City	42
2. 6. 3	Henmon-Nelson Scores by Race	43

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

In the fifteen years since the publication of Floyd Hunter's Community Power Structure, the study of local patterns of power and authority has come to occupy a prominent place in sociological and political research. The growth of interest in local power structures has been remarkable: Bell, Hill and Wright [1961] list only 30 such studies for the period 1950 through 1959; for the shorter period, 1960 through 1966, Pellegrin lists over 150 [1967].

Interest in community power and leadership has many sources, foremost of which is the belief that those who are--or are reputed to be--community leaders, have an impact upon the life of the community; that the social composition of those in positions of power and authority, their values and interests, determine the characteristic ways in which a community responds to its problems. Community style and the quality of life is, in a measurable and significant way, affected by the quality and composition of those who are variously designated as community leaders, decision-makers, influentials, civil leaders, or members of the power structure

This section of the report is a study of five urban communities seen as systems of organized power and authority. As used here, leadership, power, and authority are "sensitizing concepts," that can provide us with insights into the middle-sized city, its structure, and its functioning. An emphasis upon community power structure provides us with a clearly-defined perspective, and permits an ordering of what might otherwise be a series of unrelated and disparate phenomena. Since every urban process, structure, or institution involves and embodies one or another dimension of power, the concept serves as a useful orientation in the analysis of the five cities.

Our focus is community leadership. Who are those who are in positions of power and influence in each of the five cities? What are their backgrounds? What interests do they represent? How well qualified are they to identify and solve the problems of the inner city? In what ways are the problems and solutions found in each city related to the leadership "mix"? What are the implications of various patterns of leadership for the futures of the different cities? How do patterns of community leadership in these five communities compare with those found in other cities? In the following pages we attempt to provide at least tentative answers to these questions.

Chapter Two

METHOD

A number of different research strategies have been employed in efforts to identify community leadership and power structure. Briefly, these include (1) identification of those occupying formally designated positions of leadership--the "institutional" approach; (2) the identification of persons involved in key community-relevant decisions--the decision-making or "issues" approach; and (3) the identification of those who are reputed to possess power and influence--the "reputational" method.

Unfortunately, the early 1960's saw partisans of the various positions involved in internecine and diversionary skirmishes over the relative merits of each approach. Centering around questions of reliability, validity, and ideology, and often embodying unrecognized and irreconcilable notions about the nature of social reality, those discussions of community power are notable more for controversy than for substance.

Recognizing the enervating effects of these debates and, at the same time, the merits and limitations of each approach, community researchers in recent years have shown less concern over dogma and have, instead, freely but consciously drawn upon a variety of techniques in their work. With the emergence of this eclecticism, debate has given way to research in which substantive issues are given priority over moot questions of epistemology.

The methodology utilized in this research reflects this synthetic orientation. In late 1965 and 1966 we identified twelve strategic positions in each of the five cities. Incumbents were designated "institutional" leaders, commensurate with the approach developed by Schulze and Blumberg [1957], Form and Miller [1960], and Booth and Adrian [1961]. In addition, a second group of eight statuses were identified, in an effort to take into account major urban trends over the last two decades. As Table 2.2.1 shows, these relate to the emergence of race and education as two of the major foci of controversy, and the increasing important presence of the federal government, as manifested in urban redevelopment and anti-poverty programs.

These institutional leaders--70 percent of whom were subsequently identified as "general" leaders--served as our panel of experts. They performed this function in several ways. First, they were asked to name the "two or three major issues of problems facing (city) today," to indicate which of these they regarded as "the most important," to name "some of the people in (city) who are involved in the most important issue," and to indicate which of these were "the most influential with regard to the issue." These items were intended to identify persons engaged in current decision-making.

Second, the panel was asked, "Suppose a major project were before the community--one that required decisions by a group of leaders whom nearly everyone would accept. Which people would you choose to make up this group--regardless of whether or not you know them personally?" This item identified what we have termed "general leaders."

Third, "behind-the-scenes" leaders were sought with the item, "In most cities there are certain persons who are said to be influential behind the scenes and who have a lot to say about programs that are planned, projects, and issues that come up around town. What persons do you think are influential in this way?"

Fourth, leadership "specialists" were sought by presenting the institutional leader with a series of detailed hypothetical situations, designed to identify "moral," "economic," and "civil rights" leaders. The situations included hypothetical controversies over the presence of allegedly obscene books in the local library, the location of a new factory that might pollute the local water supply, and charges of job discrimination against minority group members. For each of these the panelist was informed, "A special committee is being organized to try to solve this at the local level. Who should be on this committee?"

Fifth, in order to begin to identify subcommunity leadership, panelists were asked, "Who, in your opinion, are the individuals--either white or Negro--who have the most influence with (city) Negroes?"

Persons named by the institutional leaders panel as "general" and "behind-the-scenes" leaders were so designated and interviewed; in turn, the persons they mentioned were interviewed. Those who at the end of this second cycle had received two or more nominations were included in the general leadership pool and interviewed. A similar three-cycle procedure was employed in the identification of subcommunity leaders.[1]

In addition to the 274 persons interviewed on the basis of these procedures, another 58 were interviewed primarily to gather developmental and technical information about key issues and persons. The attitudes and opinions of this group--which included public relations directors, administrative assistants, etc.--are not, unless otherwise indicated, included in the tabular presentations below.

---

[1] Of the 277 persons mentioned two or more times by the panel or other general leaders 274 or 99 percent were interviewed. Three persons--a Waterbury educator and industrialists in Hartford and Bridgeport--refused to be interviewed, despite repeated requests. The persistence of Lois Rusconi and Mary Spector in scheduling interviews is greatefully acknowledged. Because of limited time and resources, the identification of Stamford leaders was carried through two cycles instead of three.

TABLE 2.2.1

INSTITUTIONAL LEADERS

Group A

- Mayor
- President of the Chamber of Commerce
- Executive Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce
- President of the United Fund
- Executive Director of the United Fund
- President of the Labor Council
- Republican Town Chairman
- Democratic Town Chairman
- Chairman of the School Board
- President of the Parent-Teacher's Association
- President of the Bar Association
- Publisher of the local Newspaper(s)[1]

Group B

- Director of the Council of Churches
- President of the NAACP
- Director of the Redevelopment Agency
- Director of the Anti-Poverty Program[2]
- President of the Educational Association
- President of the American Federation of Teachers[3]
- Superintendent of Schools
- President of the Local Public Authority[4]

---

1. Two in Hartford
2. None in Stamford
3. None in Bridgeport
4. None in Hartford

Chapter Three

GENERAL LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE

Two questions must be asked at the outset of any attempt to characterize community power structures. First, how many persons comprise the leadership group, and second, how are they hierarchically related? Is the reputation for leadership an attribute of few or many? Is the power structure pyramidal, rectangular, or amorphous?

Table 2.3.1 shows the distribution of leadership nominations by city. In the four communities in which identical selection procedures were employed, the number of persons mentioned as general leaders ranged from 117 in Bridgeport to 140 in New Haven. From 45 to 55 percent of these persons were mentioned only one, however. If we compare the number of persons mentioned at least twice, the cities' leadership pools are even more remarkably similar in size. In Waterbury, the smallest of the communities, 58 persons received two or more nominations; in Bridgeport, New Haven, and Hartford the numbers were 62, 65, and 68, respectively. It is evident, then, that despite social and economic differences in the cities, as well as in the composition of the leadership group, the methodology described in the preceding section yields similar numbers of persons reputed to be community leaders.

The dispersion of leadership nominations, which determine the shape of power structures, varies somewhat more from city to city. In three of the cities--Bridgeport, Hartford, and Waterbury,--eight percent of the reputed community received ten or more votes, whereas in New Haven, only 4 percent of the persons nominated received ten or more votes. That fewer persons in New Haven are found at the leadership apx is, at this level, consistent with Dahl's influential study in which he characterize the city as "pluralistic" [1961]. Relative to the other three cities, however, New Haven is an atypical middle-sized city in this and several other important respects, points to which we return below.

Nevertheless, the nominations profiles of the four cities are remarkably similar. In each case a broad base of infrequently mentioned general leaders sharply narrowed to the point that only ten percent of all persons nominated were mentioned more than a half-dozen times. Any numerical cut-off point is, necessarily, arbitrary but it is clear that in each of the four cities, anywhere from a half-dozen to a dozen persons enjoy a reputation for leadership not shared by the other nominees. In short, in each city the reputation for leadership takes the shape of a broad-based, irregularly steep pyramid, that swells slightly at the apex.

TABLE 2.3.1

DISTRIBUTION OF LEADERSHIP NOMINATIONS, BY CITY

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	STAMFORD	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1	47.0	45.4	53.6	50.0	55.0
2	16.2	19.0	20.7	25.0	12.4
3	12.8	12.3	4.3	5.8	12.4
4	3.4	5.0	8.6	3.8	4.6
5	4.3	5.8	2.1	7.7	3.9
6	5.1	3.3	1.4	1.9	2.3
7	1.7	5.8	2.1	1.9	0.0
8	0.9	2.5	2.8	0.0	0.8
9	0.9	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0
10 - 20	6.0	5.8	2.1	3.8	6.2
20 - 30	1.7	1.6	1.4	0.0	1.6
30 - 40	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
40 - 50	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
N	117	121	140	52	129

One of the major concerns of community research has been the question of the extent to which various interests--business, political, ethnic, racial, etc.--are represented in local decision-making. One way in which this question can be partially answered is by examining the institutional affiliations of those in positions of power and authority.

Table 2.3.2 shows the distribution of leadership nominations across nine institutional sectors, representing the social and economic bases of power and influence of persons named as general leaders. In each of the five cities, leadership was drawn most heavily from the commercial and industrial sector. In Bridgeport this was the most pronounced, with 38 percent of all persons nominated representing business and industry. Just under one-third of Waterbury's and Hartford's leaders were in this category, compared with one-quarter of Stamford and New Haven leaders. The predominance of business leaders contrasts sharply with representation from other sectors: with the single exception of New Haven, persons predominately involved in government or political parties comprised the second largest group. Here again, however, there were considerable differences between cities, with the proportion of government-political leaders ranging from 11 percent in New Haven to 23 percent in Stamford.

Interestingly, for it reflects its importance in the contemporary urban community, the area of civil rights and race relations provided a large proportion of general leadership nominations. In New Haven, for example, better than one out of five persons mentioned as general leaders were in the area of civil rights or race relations; in Hartford the proportion was 15 percent, whereas in Waterbury, Stamford, and Bridgeport, just over 10 percent represented this institutional area. As Table 2.3.3 shows, civil rights and race representation is correlated with the size of the nonwhite population in these cities; nevertheless, in New Haven representatives from the area of civil rights and race tend to be more numerous than might have been predicted. As we intend to show below, it is likely that this represents a cooptation of subcommunity leaders by the predominately white leadership group.

Some interesting comparisons might be made in terms of the degree to which various institutional sectors are represented in each of the five cities. Religious leaders, for example, are mentioned as general community leaders about as frequently as governmental officials; persons in the field of education are mentioned far more often than are labor leaders, and almost as often as governmental officials. It is worth noting that in Stamford, where educational problems are somewhat less acute than in the other four communities, educators figure less prominently among the reputed community leaders. By the same token, governmental officials are mentioned more often here than in any of the other cities, perhaps due in part to the fact that potential civic leaders from commerce and industry tend to view the community as a suburban community rather than a city with a full-range of problems.

What about the institutional affiliations of the dozen or so persons in each community who received the largest number of nominations?

TABLE 2.3.2

INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATIONS OF GENERAL LEADERS

(Percent)

BUSINESS	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	STAMFORD	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Industry	38.5	30.6	23.6	25.0	32.6
Government	11.1	8.3	8.6	17.3	11.6
Political Parties	1.7	8.3	2.8	5.8	4.6
Social Welfare	9.4	5.0	5.0	9.6	4.6
Education	9.4	6.6	10.0	3.8	6.2
Religious	8.5	8.3	10.0	7.7	12.4
Labor	2.6	2.5	2.1	0.0	3.1
Mass Communication	1.7	4.1	2.1	3.8	3.1
Civil Rights/Race	12.0	14.9	21.4	11.5	10.8
Voluntary Associations	4.3	10.7	10.7	9.6	10.1
Unidentified	0.8	0.8	3.6	5.8	0.8
N	117	121	140	52	129

TABLE 2.3.3

SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS, FIVE CITIES[*]

(Percent)

CHARACTERISTICS	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	STAMFORD	WATERBURY
Population (000)					
1967[1]	155	161	148	108	108
1960	157	162	152	93	107
Percent Change					
1960-1967[1]	-1.2	-0.6	-2.6	16.1	0.9
1950-1960	-1.2	-8.6	-7.5	24.8	2.5
Number of Nonwhites 1960 (000)	16	25	23	8	7
Percent Nonwhite, 1960	9.9	15.5	14.9	8.3	6.7
Percent Nonwhite Increase, 1950-60	127.0	96.6	130.7	92.6	97.2
Percent Foreign Stock, 1960	44.1	45.2	42.2	41.9	48.2
Percent in Blue Collar Occupations	62.2	55.0	54.9	49.2	62.6
Percent of Nonwhites in Blue Collar Occupations	86.2	81.8	84.4	83.7	91.6
Percent of Whites in Blue Collar Occupations	60.1	51.2	50.8	46.1	60.8

[*] Source: 1960 Census of Population, unless otherwise noted.

[1] 1967 estimates provided by the Connecticut Department of Public Health.

If we compare the dozen or so persons in each city who ranked in the top decile, some striking inter-city comparisons can be made. In Bridgeport, where the proportion of business-commercial leaders was the largest of any of the five cities, only four of the top 11 leaders were from this category; the others were in government (3), social welfare (1), education (1), religion (1), and civil rights (1). In Hartford, in contrast, fully two-thirds of the dozen top leaders were in business and industry, two were political party chairmen (one local and one national), one a Negro politician, and one the executive director of a moderate civil rights organization. This exclusive combination of business executives, political party bosses, and Negro moderates is unique among the five communities surveyed.

Four educators, interestingly, ranked among the top 13 leaders in New Haven. Business and industry provided five, with religion, labor, and civil rights organizations also represented. The inclusion of labor and more than one educator in the top decile of nominees seem to reflect the more inclusive and "pluralistic" style of New Haven politics, as well as a sensitivity to the general significance of urban education.

Half of Waterbury's top twelve leaders were drawn from business and industry; two were local government officials, one was a party chairman, one a labor leader, one a religious leader, and one a newspaper publisher. Interestingly, Waterbury, which has been the scene of considerable conflict derived from racial and educational problems, had no persons representing these areas among the top dozen leaders.

In summary, then, business leaders dominated the top leadership profiles of each of the five cities, ranging from over a third of Bridgeport's top decile, to two-thirds of Hartford's top-ranking twelve. Government officials--half of whom were incumbent mayors--were more apparent in Bridgeport than in the other four cities; in Hartford, with its city manager plan, neither the mayor nor the city manager ranked among the top twelve. In four of the five cities, a civil rights leader was among the top-ranked; only in Bridgeport, however, was this nominee affiliated with an organization that would be classified as militant. Three of the cities had among their top leaders representatives from six of the nine institutional areas; Hartford drew from only four.[1] The predominance of business leaders and unelected politicians in Hartford's leadership core may be a significant factor in the city's characteristic approach to problems in education and welfare. The contrast with New Haven, where over half of the top leaders are from areas other than business and government, is noteworthy.

---

[1] In this instance, Stamford is not comparable, as fewer leadership cycles were used in the selection of leaders. See above.

TABLE 2.3.4

INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATIONS OF TOP-RANKING LEADERS, BY CITY*

(Percent)

BUSINESS	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	STAMFORD	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Business and Industry	36.0	67.0	38.0	50.0	50.0
Government	27.0	8.0	8.0	25.0	17.0
Political Parties	0.0	17.0	0.0	0.0	8.0
Social Welfare	9.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Education	9.0	0.0	31.0	0.0	0.0
Religious	9.0	0.0	8.0	0.0	8.0
Labor	0.0	0.0	8.0	0.0	8.0
Mass Communication	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.0
Civil Rights	9.0	8.0	8.0	25.0	0.0
N	11	12	13	4	12

*First decile of nominations.

Chapter Four

THE SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF GENERAL AND INSTITUTIONAL LEADERS

Origins and Residence

Connecticut leaders tended to be more cosmopolitan in origin than the general population: in 1960, two-thirds of the urban native population of the state was born in Connecticut; less than 40 percent of the institutional-general (IG) leaders were born in the state (Table 2.4.1). Only a third of Stamford's IG leaders were born in Connecticut, compared with 45 percent of Waterbury's leaders. Just over half of the leaders in three of the cities--Hartford, New Haven, and Waterbury--were born in New England. The New York SMSA was the place of 16 percent of Stamford leaders, but only 2 percent of those in Waterbury. The majority of IG leaders in each community were born in the East: the range was from 70 percent in Bridgeport to 68 percent in Stamford.

Nevertheless, a sizable proportion of IG leaders in each city were born in the community in which they had attained positions of leadership. Approximately one quarter of the leaders in New Haven, Stamford, and Waterbury were born there; in Bridgeport and Hartford the proportions dropped to 19 and 15 percent respectively.

As Table 2.4.2 shows, very few of the IG leaders are newcomers to their communities. Persons in high-level positions requiring technical expertise--educators, urban planners, renewal administrators, etc.--were the most likely to be among those with the shortest tenure. In Hartford, fully 90 percent of IG leaders have lived in Connecticut for more than ten years, compared with a low of 79 percent in New Haven. The median number of years lived in Connecticut was highest in Hartford, at 37, and lowest, at 27, in Stamford and New Haven. These differences reflect, in part, differences in the composition of the five IG leadership groups; for example, a prodiminance of business leaders among those in Hartford who received two or more votes, resulted in an older group, with longer residential histories.

TABLE 2.4.1

PLACE OF BIRTH, INSTITUTIONAL-GENERAL LEADERS, BY CITY

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	STAMFORD	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
In town of residence	19.0	15.0	28.0	23.0	24.0
In Connecticut	17.0	28.0	14.0	10.0	21.0
New England	11.0	11.0	10.0	10.0	8.0
New York SMSA	9.0	8.0	12.0	16.0	2.0
Other East Cost	13.0	9.0	12.0	19.0	15.0
South	13.0	9.0	17.0	13.0	13.0
Midwest	13.0	12.0	7.0	6.0	4.0
West	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	3.0
Foreign	2.0	5.0	0.0	3.0	10.0
Puerto Rico, Jamaica, West Indies	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
N	53	65	58	31	67

TABLE 2.4.2

YEARS IN CONNECTICUT, INSTITUTIONAL-GENERAL LEADERS, BY CITY

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	STAMFORD	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0 - 4	4.0	3.0	9.0	6.0	4.0
5 - 9	11.0	6.0	12.0	10.0	6.0
10 - 14	8.0	9.0	9.0	16.0	6.0
15 - 19	6.0	6.0	7.0	0.0	18.0
20 - 24	6.0	9.0	7.0	10.0	6.0
25 - 29	11.0	6.0	7.0	10.0	8.0
30 - 34	9.0	6.0	5.0	10.0	6.0
35 - 39	6.0	17.0	7.0	6.0	10.0
40 - 44	8.0	6.0	3.0	6.0	6.0
45 - 49	4.0	9.0	12.0	6.0	8.0
50 - 54	8.0	6.0	7.0	13.0	6.0
55 - 59	17.0	3.0	7.0	6.0	4.0
60 - 64	2.0	9.0	3.0	0.0	6.0
65 - 69	2.0	2.0	3.0	0.0	3.0
70 or over	0.0	2.0	2.0	0.0	3.0
N	53	65	58	31	67
Median number of years in Connecticut	32	37	27	27	34

In every city except Hartford, a majority of IG leaders live in the central city (Table 2.4.3). Ninety percent of Stamford leaders live in the city, compared with only 43 percent of Hartford leaders. Roughly two-thirds of New Haven and Waterbury leaders live in the city, compared with just over half of Bridgeport IG leaders. These patterns result in large part from the residential structure of the city. The greater crowding in Hartford for example, is seen in its population density of 9321 persons per square mile, compared with 2414 in Stamford.[1] (Table 2.4.4). In relative terms, however, New Haven appears to be more successful than Bridgeport or Hartford in locating its IG leaders in the central city. With a population density (8494) that approaches that of these other two cities, 69 percent of New Haven leaders live in the central city. Thus the residential preferences of community leaders are conditioned by the availability of suitable housing in each city, and this, in turn, may be expected to have some impact upon leaders' perceptions of housing problems in the inner city. Hartford's acute housing problem thus may be regarded as both a cause and a result of the suburban preferences of a majority of its IG leaders.

Interestingly, however, IG leaders in the five cities are more likely to live in the central city than are members of the boards of the major manufacturing, banking, and insurance organizations in these cities. As Table 2.4.5 shows, over 80 percent of the members of the boards of directors of the largest manufacturing establishments in the five cities live outside of the metropolitan area; only in Hartford is this figure significantly different. More significant, however, is the fact that only a very small proportion of those who do live in the metropolitan area are residents of the central city. None of the members of the boards of the five largest establishments in Waterbury live in the central city, for example, compared with Stamford, where two of the six local board members live in the city. Even in Hartford, where 41 percent of board members live in the metropolitan area, only 5 percent live in the central city.

And as Table 2.4.6 shows, a minority of the members of the boards of directors of commercial banks--traditionally local in orientation--reside in the central city. Although a majority of the members of the boards of these banks live in the metropolitan area, only 21 percent live in the central city, the range extending from 7 percent in Bridgeport to 46 percent in Stamford.

The pattern is much the same for Hartford-based insurance companies: of the 155 persons who sit on the boards of the ten companies with 1966 assets of over 25 million dollars, two-thirds live in the Hartford area, but only 12 percent live in the City of Hartford.

---

[1] But compare this with New York's 24,697 or Chicago's 15,834. In density, Hartford, Bridgeport, and New Haven resemble many of the larger middle-western cities, such as Milwaukee and Minneapolis.

TABLE 2.4.3

PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF INSTITUTIONAL-GENERAL LEADERS

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	STAMFORD	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
In city	55.0	43.0	69.0	90.0	64.0
In suburb	45.0	57.0	31.0	10.0	36.0
N	53	65	58	31	67

TABLE 2.4.4

POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE, CENTRAL CITIES, 1960

Bridgeport	8757
Hartford	9321
New Haven	8494
Stamford	2414
Waterbury	3882

Derived from U.S. Census, 1960, U.S. Summary, Number of Inhabitants, Tables 34 and 35.

TABLE 2.4.5

PLACE OF RESIDENCE, MEMBERS OF THE BOARDS OF MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS EMPLOYING 500 OR MORE PERSONS, 1966

(Percent)

CITY	TOTAL	CENTRAL CITY	METROPOLITAN AREA	ELSEWHERE
Bridgeport (15 Corporations)	100.0	2.2	8.3	89.4
Hartford (11 Corporations)	100.0	4.7	36.2	59.0
New Haven (10 Corporations)	100.0	0.8	7.5	91.7
Stamford (5 Corporations)	100.0	3.3	9.8	86.9
Waterbury (5 Corporations)	100.0	0.0	12.0	88.0

TABLE 2.4.6

PLACE OF RESIDENCE, MEMBERS OF THE BOARDS OF COMMERCIAL BANKS, 1966

(Percent)

CITY	TOTAL	CENTRAL CITY	SMSA	ELSEWHERE
Bridgeport (3 Banks)	100.0	6.8	41.1	52.0
Hartford (5 Banks)	100.0	13.5	76.9	9.6
New Haven (4 Banks)	100.0	27.1	60.0	12.8
Stamford (4 Banks)	100.0	46.3	31.5	22.2
Waterbury (2 Banks)	100.0	19.5	53.6	26.8

In short, a large proportion of IG leaders live outside of the city in which they occupy strategic positions or are reputed to be influential, but an overwhelming majority of large corporation, banking, and insurance board members do not live in the cities in which their organizations exhert powerful social and economic influence. Decisions made in these organizations touch upon a majority of these persons' place of work, but significantly, not their place of residence. And, as we shall show below, where one resides is related to one's perceptions of the problems of the central city.

Age

Among the cliches of modern urbanology is the emphasis upon the need for "new solutions," for "new perspectives," for "fresh ideas." Such demands, however, often must be made upon men who are frequently unsympathetic to innovation. The views of one generation of leaders may be inconsistent with the views of the generation that preceded it; solutions of twenty years ago may be the problems of the present. Age is a factor in such considerations, and yet the acquisition of a reputation for leadership and the attainment of positions of influence are functions of time. It is not surprising, therefore, that youth is not an outstanding characteristic of the IG leadership profile of any of the five cities. As Table 2.4.7 shows, the median ages of IG leaders ranged from 46 in Waterbury to 53 in Bridgeport and Hartford. Hartford contained the smallest proportion of IG leaders under 40 (17 percent), while Waterbury had the largest (24 percent). In Hartford, 28 percent of the IG leaders were over sixty years of age, compared with only 15 percent in New Haven. These differences again partially reflect the differences in the composition of the IG leadership group--an older, commercial and industrial elite exists in Hartford, for example, compared with the broader-based technical-administrative elite of New Haven. Interestingly, in Waterbury a combination of young politicians and new community agency heads accounts for the relative youth of its IG leadership group. In this regard it may be recapitulating the New Haven experience of the recent past.

Race

Most community power studies have emphasized the bifurcation of the white and the black leadership: "Negro leadership" is typically portrayed as separate and subcommunal in nature.

Our data on the five cities present a somewhat different picture, however. While it is true that a distinct structure of "subcommunity" leaders can be identified, it is also clear that northern urban power structures--at least those of middle-sized communities--contain larger numbers of nonwhites than previous research may have led us to expect.

TABLE 2.4.7

AGE, INSTITUTIONAL-GENERAL LEADERS, BY CITY

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	STAMFORD	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 30	2.0	0.0	2.0	3.0	3.0
30 - 34	8.0	3.0	5.0	3.0	3.0
35 - 39	11.0	14.0	14.0	13.0	18.0
40 - 44	11.0	12.0	17.0	10.0	15.0
45 - 49	9.0	17.0	19.0	16.0	12.0
50 - 54	17.0	15.0	12.0	23.0	18.0
55 - 59	19.0	11.0	16.0	16.0	13.0
60 - 64	8.0	14.0	10.0	3.0	12.0
65 - 69	8.0	9.0	2.0	10.0	3.0
70 or over	8.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
N	53	65	58	31	67
Median age	53	53	48	51	46

It is evident to us, for example, that the black president of the NAACP occupies a position of strategic importance in the urban community. This is not to say that the needs and demands of the black community are effectively channeled through him; rather, it is clear that in the 1960's, black organizations and individuals are a part of the urban power structure. Table 2.4.8 shows that nonwhite leaders comprise from 13 to 28 percent of the IG pool in each city, the proportions roughly approximating the size of the nonwhite population of the city. New Haven, not surprisingly, contains a larger proportion of blacks in its leadership pool, a characteristic correlated with its broader base of leadership representation.

The question that arises here, however, is the crucial one: are these representatives black leaders, are they leaders who happen to be black, or are they blacks who have been coopted into the white power structure? The answer is that the characteristics of the black leaders vary from city to city, but that in general, a majority of blacks in the IG leadership pool tend to share the perspectives of the white leadership to a greater extent than do those who are identified as primarily subcommunity leaders. This point is further amplified below.

Education

If any one thing characterizes the IG leader, it is the fact that he is highly educated. As Table 2.4.9 shows, a majority of the IG leaders in every city had completed work beyond the bachelor's degree. The range was from 70 percent in Bridgeport, to 53 percent in Waterbury. The presence of lawyers and social workers tended to upgrade the educational level of Bridgeport's elite, whereas in Waterbury lawyers and other professionals were fewer. In New Haven the academics and educators were somewhat more in evidence than in the other cities.

At the other extreme, fewer than 5 percent of the IG leaders had not graduated from high school. And with the single exception of New Haven, less than 10 percent of the IG leaders had not had at least some college experience.

It is thus evident, especially in view of the age of the leadership group as a whole, that IG leaders are better educated than the population at large, and that with rare exceptions, the lack of educational credentials excludes one from the IG leadership class.

Interestingly, Yale provided the largest number of IG leaders: one out of seven attended Old Eli. One out of five IG leaders had attended an Ivy League school. Few leaders had attended a school in the Connecticut state system (Table 2.4.10). Interestingly, a larger proportion had attended private Negro colleges than a school in the Connecticut state system. Among IG leaders, one was about as likely to have attended a state school as an Ivy League school.

TABLE 2.4.8

RACE, INSTITUTIONAL-GENERAL LEADERS, BY CITY

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	STAMFORD	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White	77.0	77.0	72.0	84.0	87.0
Nonwhite	23.0	23.0	28.0	16.0	13.0
N	53	65	58	31	67

TABLE 2.4.9

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, INSTITUTIONAL-GENERAL LEADERS, BY CITY

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	STAMFORD	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0 - 8	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
9 - 11	2.0	5.0	5.0	3.0	4.0
12	0.0	2.0	10.0	3.0	4.0
13 - 15	13.0	8.0	9.0	10.0	15.0
16 (BA, BS)	13.0	23.0	16.0	23.0	24.0
Some Graduate work, no adv. degree	13.0	11.0	14.0	6.0	15.0
MA, MSW	15.0	11.0	9.0	16.0	12.0
Law, Divinity degree	34.0	37.0	28.0	36.0	24.0
PHD, MD, DDS	6.0	5.0	10.0	3.0	2.0
No information	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
N	53	65	58	31	67

TABLE 2.4.10

TYPE OF SCHOOL OF UNDERGRADUATE ATTENDANCE, INSTITUTIONAL-GENERAL LEADERS, BY CITY

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	STAMFORD	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Yale	11.0	14.0	17.0	0.0	13.0
Other Ivy League	6.0	5.0	9.0	16.0	10.0
Connecticut non-Ivy, Private, non-Catholic	6.0	14.0	7.0	6.0	8.0
Connecticut state system	2.0	6.0	3.0	6.0	6.0
Private, non-Catholic, non-Ivy, outside state	36.0	17.0	17.0	23.0	25.0
Catholic institutions	13.0	6.0	7.0	16.0	12.0
State system other than Connecticut	13.0	23.0	9.0	16.0	13.0
Private Negro college	8.0	8.0	14.0	10.0	3.0
Did not attend college	6.0	8.0	17.0	6.0	9.0
N	53	65	58	31	67

Income

Community leaders were for the most part economically comfortable: more than half had a 1966 annual income of over $20,000 (Table 2.4.11). The proportion of IG leaders with annual incomes of less than $10,000 ranged from 9 percent in Stamford to 22 percent in Bridgeport. For the most part, these persons were Negro religious leaders or agency administrators.

Hartford leaders had by far the largest annual incomes. Two-thirds received more than $20,000 in 1966, compared with one one-third of Waterbury IG leaders. Interestingly, Stamford leaders were drawn from the middle-income ranks ($10,000 - $20,000) moreso than in any other city. In Hartford a high-income business elite made up a large part of the IG group, whereas in Stamford, middle-income IG leaders were more in evidence. Waterbury, in contrast, drew more from the lower-income ranks; its leadership income structure was in its diversification closest to that of New Haven except for the fact that it contained a substantially smaller proportion of high-income members.

Religion

As Table 2.4.12 shows, a majority of the IG leadership in every city except Stamford is Protestant. Fully three-quarters of Hartford leaders are Protestants, compared with 45 percent in Stamford. Catholic and Jewish participation is greatest in Stamford. Catholics comprise a low of 18 percent of Hartford's IG leadership and a high of 39 percent in Stamford. From 6 to 16 percent of the IG leaders are Jewish. Given the religious composition of the four cities in which general population surveys were conducted, it appears that Protestants are disproportionately represented in the IG leadership structure of each community (Table 2.4.13).

TABLE 2.4.11

INCOME OF HEAD, INSTITUTIONAL-GENERAL LEADERS, BY CITY

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	STAMFORD	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than $6,000	6.0	3.0	9.0	0.0	6.0
$ 6,000 - 7,999	8.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
$ 8,000 - 9,999	8.0	5.0	7.0	6.0	24.0
$10,000 - 14,999	17.0	17.0	16.0	23.0	22.0
$15,000 - 19,999	11.0	8.0	7.0	13.0	10.0
Over $20,000	47.0	65.0	53.0	52.0	33.0
No information	4.0	2.0	5.0	3.0	2.0
N	53	65	58	31	67

TABLE 2.4.12

RELIGION, INSTITUTIONAL-GENERAL LEADERS, BY CITY

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	STAMFORD	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Protestant	55.0	76.0	67.0	45.0	59.0
Catholic	38.0	18.0	22.0	39.0	33.0
Jewish	8.0	6.0	10.0	16.0	8.0
No information	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	2.0
N	53	65	58	31	67

TABLE 2.4.13

RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION, FOUR CITIES, 1966
(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Protestant	29.7	37.1	34.7	20.3
Catholic	58.7	50.9	47.4	75.5
Jewish	4.7	7.3	11.4	1.9
Other	5.0	4.7	6.4	2.2
N	595	631	525	412

Chapter Five

INSTITUTIONAL-GENERAL LEADERS' PERCEPTIONS OF MAJOR COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

What did community leaders perceived as being the major problems and/or issues confronting their community? In order to answer this question, we presented each IG leader with a card on which were listed 13 different items, saying "Some of the items on this card are often mentioned by people concerned with city problem. Which of these do you think are especially important in (city)?" The respondent was permitted to rank as many or as few as he liked; if he said "All," he was asked, "Which two or three would you say are the most important?" Table 2.5.1 presents the rank order of these items by city.

In three of the five cities education is the first-ranked item; housing is second-ranked in four. Stamford's on-going problems with urban renewal earned that first place, whereas the taxation and revaluation were first-ranked among Waterbury's problems.

Each of the cities showed a distinctive profile in its ranking of problems. In Bridgeport, for example, crime and delinquency were ranked fourth and fifth; in New Haven and Hartford Negro subcommunity and race relations problems were highly-ranked. Taxation was viewed as being less of a problem in Stamford, New Haven, and Bridgeport, compared with Hartford and, especially, Waterbury. The problems which confront many larger cities--air pollution, public transportation, and city services, received relatively low rankings in each of the five cities.

It is clear, however, that for the five cities, concern over education, housing, and urban renewal is of the first order; taxation, crime, and race are problems of the second order.

How deeply-rooted are these concerns? Williams and Adrian [1963] have suggested that cities acquire characteristic political styles that tend to transcend day-to-day problems and issues. This typology of styles includes (1) an emphasis upon the promotion of economic growth, (2)providing and securing lifes amenities, (3) maintaining traditional services, and (4) arbitrating among conflicting interests.

TABLE 2.5.1

RANK ORDER OF CITY PROBLEMS AS PERCEIVED BY INSTITUTIONAL-GENERAL LEADERS, BY CITY

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	STAMFORD	WATERBURY
Education	1	1	1	3	2
Housing	2	2	4	2	4
Urban Renewal	3	5	2	1	3
Taxes	8	4	7	6	1
Race Relations	6	3	6	4	5
Juvenile Delinquency	4	8	5	8	13
Crime	5	7	10	9	11
Negro Subcommunity	11	6	3	5	7
Streets and Highways	12	NR	NR	NR	6
Air Pollution	7	NR	8	7	12
Public Transportation	13	10	9	NR	8
City Services	9	9	10	11	10

NR = Not ranked

In order to see how the five Connecticut cities might be fit into this analytic scheme, we asked IG leaders, "Which of [the above] items... should be the most important single consideration of those who make decisions concerning the city of....?"

Table 2.5.2 indicates that in three of the five cities--New Haven, Hartford, and Stamford--a majority of community leaders stressed the need for expanded services--the providing of amenities. In only one of the cities--Waterbury--did a majority of IG leaders say that economic growth "should be the most important single consideration." In Bridgeport, economic growth was stressed by slightly under half of the IG leaders. The maintenance of present services was not seen as the prime consideration by more than a minority of leaders; it would appear that demands for service expansion, rather than maintenance, are foremost in the minds of most IG leaders. Interestingly, the need to keep disagreement and conflict to a minimum was mentioned by a very small proportion of IG leaders. Emphasis upon this value set was greatest (15 percent) in Stamford, which has perhaps the fewest problems in terms of economic growth and the financing of services, but the few interviews conducted there caution against broad generalizations along these lines. It is worth noting, however, that this is mentioned the next most frequently in New Haven, where, of the five cities, voluntary associations and competing interest groups are the most highly activated.

The emphasis upon growth, as contrasted with distribution is, not surprisingly, concentrated in the business community: seventy-one percent of all business leaders stressed the prime importance of economic growth (Table 2.5.3). Fifty-seven percent of the labor leaders ranked economic growth first, but, significantly, a minority of IG leaders in each of the other institutional sectors gave the growth theme first position. Leaders in the social welfare and education sectors were the most likely to stress the need for more and better services; religious, civil rights, and political leaders were similar in their emphasis upon these needs. It should be clear that, given the divergences in the value-orientations of business-labor and other leaders, the leadership "mix" in these communities will determine the kinds of values which are called into play as a community establishes priorities and choses among alternatives in policy formation and implementation.

TABLE 2.5.2

MOST IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION, INSTITUTIONAL-GENERAL LEADERS, BY CITY

(Percent)

	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	STAMFORD	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Economic growth	48.0	33.0	41.0	26.0	62.0
Expanded services	31.0	62.0	68.0	55.0	23.0
Maintenance of present services	15.0	10.0	7.0	6.0	13.0
Keeping disagreement and conflict to a minimum	2.0	2.0	7.0	16.0	3.0
All of the above	4.0	2.0	0.0	3.0	3.0
N	53	65	58	31	67

TABLE 2.5.3

MOST IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION BY INSTITUTIONAL-GENERAL LEADERSHIP AFFILIATIONS, ALL CITIES

(Percent)

	BUSINESS	GOVERNMENT	POLITICAL PARTIES	SOCIAL WELFARE	EDUCATION	RELIGION	LABOR	MASS COMMUNICATIONS	CIVIL RIGHTS	VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Economic growth	71.4	56.8	26.7	45.4	27.8	19.0	57.0	40.0	35.1	28.6
Expanded services	19.6	45.9	53.3	73.3	75.0	57.1	43.0	30.0	54.4	42.8
Maintenance of present services	10.7	8.1	6.7	6.7	2.8	23.8	0.0	30.0	14.0	14.3
Keeping disagreement & conflict to a minimum	3.6	2.7	0.0	13.3	0.0	9.5	0.0	0.0	8.8	14.3
All of the above	3.6	0.0	13.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	0.0
N	56	37	15	22	36	21	7	10	57	7

Chapter Six

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP AND EDUCATION

It has been frequently asserted that the type and quality of public education which a community receives to a large extent reflects the values and attitudes of community leaders. If community leaders have a direct and abiding interest in education, under most conditions the quality of education will be high. Where public education is not highly regarded by key leaders it frequently occupies a low-priority position in terms of budget, planning, and innovation.

How do the IG leaders regard their schools? They were asked, "Do you feel that (city) schools tend to be better or worse, in general, than schools in other cities of about the same size?" A large proportion--ranging from over one-quarter in Hartford to just over 10 percent in Waterbury--of community leaders said they simply could not answer the question--that they either had no basis for comparison or that they were not sufficiently familiar with the city's schools (Table 2.6.1).

Of those who did attempt to evaluate the schools, the inter-city range of variation was large. In Waterbury, only 14 percent of community leaders said that their schools were better than those in other communities of about the same size; over half (54 percent) said that they were poorer. In Stamford, in contrast, fully 89 percent of community leaders said that they felt that their schools were generally better than those in other communities. It is worth noting that in the two cities in which there seemed to be a great deal of consensus regarding the quality of the local school system, fewer IG leaders claimed that they did not have sufficient knowledge to express an opinion.

Bridgeport IG leaders presented the widest range of opinion on relative school quality: twenty-three percent thought it better, a third said that it was about the same as elsewhere, and 43 percent felt that it was poorer. Interestingly, the distribution of evaluations of school quality in Hartford and New Haven were virtually identical: somewhat over half of the IG leaders felt that their schools were better than in communities of comparable size, slightly over one quarter felt that they were about the same, and about one out of six leaders felt that they were poorer.

TABLE 2.6.1

EVALUATIONS OF SCHOOLS RELATIVE TO THOSE IN OTHER COMMUNITIES OF SAME SIZE, INSTITUTIONAL-GENERAL LEADERS, BY CITY

(Percent)

DESCRIPTION	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	STAMFORD	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Better	23.0	57.0	58.0	89.0	14.0
Same	33.0	25.0	29.0	11.0	32.0
Poorer	43.0	17.0	14.0	0.0	54.0
N	39	47	45	27	59
Non-evaluative or don't know responses	14	18	13	4	8

Since one's perceptions of the quality of public education will have some impact upon the kind of response one makes to demands for expansion or improvement, it appears that in three of the cities, where a majority of leaders view the public educational system as being better than in cities of comparable size, pressures for change are likely to encounter apathy, if not resistance.

What kinds of problems exist in the schools? As Table 2.6.2 shows, IG leaders tended to stress problems related to the "clientele." In New Haven and Hartford, for example, nearly 40 percent of the problems mentioned refered to school segregation, the need for remedial courses, and guidance programs, the home environment of the pupils, discipline problems, and language problems. In Stamford, where 28 percent of the responses were along these lines, the emphasis was upon the different needs of minority pupils as contrasted with the majority group.

Interestingly, the largest proportion of problem areas identified by Waterbury leaders had to do with facilities--the age of the physical plant, overcrowding, and lack of equipment. The emphasis upon the "economic" aspects of education here is thus consistent with the general "style" of the city, where taxation and economic growth are the prime concerns of the IG leadership class.

It is also worth noting that Hartford leaders were more likely than others to mention pupil characteristics as a source of educational problems. Family background, social class, and neighborhood influences upon educational performance were mentioned less often in the other five cities. This might suggest that in a middle-class city such as Hartford, where community leadership in the area of public education has not been outstanding, there is a tendency to attribute education problems to the students' social characteristics, rather than to weaknesses in the educational system itself. In this context it should be also noted that expressions of concern over the quality of the curriculum and the administration are fewer in Hartford than elsewhere, and although this might be taken as an indication of a dearth of problems in these areas, it is also possible that it reflects limited interest in the educational process as it relates to the needs of today's urban school population.

How legitimate are the attitudes of IG leaders? One answer is provided in Table 2.6.3, which presents the Henmon-Nelson scores of Negro and white sixth grade students in the five school systems.[1] The Henmon-Nelson test, while rarely used for counseling purposes, has been widely employed for purposes of research, in part because of its simplicity and brevity [See, e.g., Swell, Haller, and Straus, 1957]. The test embodies many of the verbal biases that have been frequently criticized, but for this reason is a valid instrument for assessing the kinds of ability that are related to achievement in educational systems where middle-class verbal skills are valued. The differences between Negroes and whites in schools

---

[1] These data were collected in 1966 by the authors and Henry G. Stetler, in connection with the Inner Cities project, and the U.S. Office of Education.

TABLE 2.6.2

PERCEPTIONS OF EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS, INSTITUTIONAL-GENERAL LEADERS, BY CITY

(Percent)

DESCRIPTION	BRIDGEPORT	HARTFORD	NEW HAVEN	STAMFORD	WATERBURY
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Facilities	20.3	25.9	18.1	24.3	31.4
Personnel	16.0	17.6	17.1	17.6	16.5
Curriculum	20.9	4.6	8.3	14.9	16.5
Administration	14.4	11.3	18.1	13.5	17.3
Clientele	26.7	39.7	38.3	28.4	16.5
N	187	239	193	74	255

TABLE 2.6.3

HENMON-NELSON SCORES BY RACE

(Percent)

RACE	TOTAL	110 AND OVER	100-109	90-99	80-99	Under 80	N
Five Cities							
Negro	100.0	6.1	19.6	28.6	28.7	17.0	(1087)
White	100.0	30.2	28.4	21.5	12.9	7.1	(1453)

in the five cities are significant: Fifty-nine percent of whites had scores of 100 or higher compared with 26 percent of Negroes. And 46 percent of Negroes, compared with only 20 percent of whites, had scores of less than 90. While interpretations of these differences may vary, it is indisputably clear that the performance of Negro pre-adolescents, on a standard test designed to measure the kinds of abilities which are valued and rewarded in a modern industrial society, is inferior to that of their white peers. It is thus clear that community leaders have little reason to believe that the school systems of the inner cities are adequately serving the needs of a large segment of the school-age population.

REFERENCES

Bell, Wendell, Richard J. Hill, and Charles R. Wright
1961 Public Leadership. San Francisco: Chandler Press.

Booth, David A., and Charles R. Adrian
1961 "Simplifying the Discovery of Elites." American Behavioral Scientist (October):14-16.

Dahl, Robert A.
1961 Who Governs? New Haven: Yale University Press

Form, William H., and Delbert C. Miller
1960 Industry, Labor, and Community. New York: Harper.

Form, William H., and Warren H. Sauer
1961 Community Influentials in a Middle-Sized City. East Lansing: Institute for Community Development and Services.

Hunter, Floyd
1953 Community Power Structure. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Pellegrin, Roland J.
1967 "Selected Bibliography on Community Power Structure." Southwestern Social Science Quarterly 48(December):451-465.

Schulze, Robert D., and Leonard V. Blumberg
1957 "The Determination of Local Power Elites." American Journal of Sociology 68(November):290-296.

Sewell, William H., Archie O. Haller, and Murray A. Strauss
1957 "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspirations." American Sociological Review 22(February):67-73.

Williams, Oliver P., and Charles R. Adrian
1963 Four Cities. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press).

PART III

DE FACTO SCHOOL SEGREGATION AND THE STUDENT: A STUDY OF THE SCHOOLS IN CONNECTICUT'S FIVE MAJOR CITIES

PART III

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES . . . . *iv*

Chapters Page

1. INTRODUCTION 1
2. METHODOLOGY AND MEASUREMENT 5
3. TEACHERS AND DE FACTO SCHOOL SEGREGATION 11
4. EFFECTS OF DE FACTO SCHOOL SEGREGATION ON THE ACHIEVEMENT OF STUDENTS 63
5. EFFECTS OF DE FACTO SCHOOL SEGREGATION ON THE ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS OF STUDENTS 123
6. EFFECTS OF DE FACTO SCHOOL SEGREGATION ON STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THEMSELVES AND THEIR ENVIRONMENT 205
7. EFFECTS OF DE FACTO SCHOOL SEGREGATION AND THE INTERRACIAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS OF STUDENTS 265
8. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS 333

REFERENCES 335

PART III

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

3. 3. 1 Race of Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 13

3. 3. 2 Race of Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 13

3. 3. 3. Location in Which Elementary School Teachers Have Spent Most of Their Lives Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School. 15

3. 3. 4 Location in Which Secondary School Teachers Have Spent Most of Their Lives Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 15

3. 3. 5 Type of Community in Which Elementary School Teachers Spent the Major Part of Their Youth Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 16

3. 3. 6 Type of Community in Which Secondary School Teachers Spent the Major Part of Their Youth Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 16

3. 3. 7 Location of High School from Which Elementary School Teachers Graduated Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 17

3. 3. 8 Location of High School from Which Secondary School Teachers Graduated Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 17

3. 3. 9 Education of Fathers of Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 19

3. 3.10 Education of Fathers of Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 19

3. 3.11 Education of Mothers of Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 20

3. 3.12 Education of Mothers of Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 20

Table Page

3. 3. 13 Occupation of Fathers of Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 21

3. 3. 14 Occupation of Fathers of Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 21

3. 3. 15 Income Position of Parents of Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 23

3. 3. 16 Income Position of Parents of Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 23

3. 3. 17 Highest Degree Earned by Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 24

3. 3. 18 Highest Degree Earned by Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 24

3. 3. 19 Years of Teaching Experience of Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 25

3. 3. 20 Years of Teaching Experience of Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 25

3. 3. 21 Number of Different Schools in Which Elementary School Teachers Have Taught Since Receiving Their Bachelor's Degree Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 27

3. 3. 22 Number of Different Schools in Which Secondary School Teachers Have Taught Since Receiving Their Bachelor's Degree Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 27

3. 3. 23 Certification Status of Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 28

3. 3. 24 Certification Status of Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 28

3. 3. 25 Professional Journals Read by Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 30

3. 3. 26 Professional Journals Read by Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 30

3. 3. 27 Quality of College Work of Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 31

Table Page

3. 3. 28 Quality of College Work of Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 31

3. 3. 29 Attendance at Summer Institutes in Teaching Disadvantaged Students for Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 33

3. 3. 30 Attendance at Summer Institutes in Teaching Disadvantaged Students for Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 33

3. 3. 31 Employment Status in Present School System for Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 34

3. 3. 32 Employment Status in Present School System for Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 34

3. 3. 33 Manner of Assignment to Present School for Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 37

3. 3. 34 Manner of Assignment to Present School for Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 37

3. 3. 35 Preference for Teaching in Another School for Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 38

3. 3. 36 Preference for Teaching in Another School for Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 38

3. 3. 37 Rating of Academic Ability of Students in Present School by Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 39

3. 3. 38 Rating of Academic Ability of Students in Present School by Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 39

3. 3. 39 Rating of Effort of Students in Present School by Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 41

Table Page

3. 3. 40 Rating of Effort of Students in Present School by Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 41

3. 3. 41 Reputation of Present School Among Teachers Outside School for Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 42

3. 3. 42 Reputation of Present School Among Teachers Outside School For Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 42

3. 3. 43 Elementary School Teachers who Expect to Remain Full-Time in Public Education Until Retirement Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 43

3. 3. 44 Secondary School Teachers who Expect to Remain Full-Time in Public Education Until Retirement Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 43

3. 3. 45 Elementary School Teachers who Would Reenter the Teaching Profession Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 44

3. 3. 46 Secondary School Teachers who Would Reenter the Teaching Profession Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 44

3. 3. 47 Problems of the School System for Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 45

3. 3. 48 Problems of the School System for Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 46

3. 3. 49 Type of High School Preferred by Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 48

3. 3. 50 Type of High School Preferred by Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 48

3. 3. 51 Social Class Composition of Students Preferred by Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 49

3. 3. 52 Social Class Composition of Students Preferred by Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 49

Table   Page

3. 3. 53 Racial Composition of Students Preferred by Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 50

3. 3. 54 Racial Composition of Students Preferred by Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School . 50

3. 3. 55 Ethnic Composition of Students Preferred by Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 51

3. 3. 56 Ethnic Composition of Students Preferred by Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 51

3. 3. 57 Ability Level of Students Preferred by Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School . 53

3. 3. 58 Ability Level of Students Preferred by Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School . 53

3. 3. 59 Policy on Neighborhood Elementary School Favored by Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 55

3. 3. 60 Policy on Neighborhood Elementary School Favored by Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 55

3. 3. 61 Policy on Bussing of Elementary Pupils Favored by Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 56

3. 3. 62 Policy on Bussing of Elementary Pupils Favored by Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 56

3. 3. 63 Compensatory Programs for Disadvantaged Students Favored by Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 57

3. 3. 64 Compensatory Programs for Disadvantaged Students Favored by Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 57

3. 3. 65 Type of Faculty for Nonwhite Schools Favored by Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 58

Table Page

3. 3. 66 Type of Faculty for Nonwhite Schools Favored by Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 58

3. 3. 67 Type of Faculty for Racially Mixed Schools Favored by Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 59

3. 3. 68 Type of Faculty for Racially Mixed Schools Favored by Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 59

3. 3. 69 Type of Faculty for White Schools Favored by Elementary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 60

3. 3. 70 Type of Faculty for White Schools Favored by Secondary School Teachers Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School . 60

3. 4. 1 Henmon-Nelson I. Q. Scores for Sixth and Twelfth Grade Pupils 66

3. 4. 2 Henmon-Nelson Percentile Scores for Sixth and Twelfth Grade Pupils 66

3. 4. 3 Henmon-Nelson I. Q. Scores for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 68

3. 4. 4 Henmon-Nelson I. Q. Scores for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 69

3. 4. 5 Henmon-Nelson Percentile Scores for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 70

3. 4. 6 Henmon-Nelson Percentile Scores for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 71

3. 4. 7 Henmon-Nelson I. Q. Scores for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 72

3. 4. 8 Henmon-Nelson I. Q. Scores for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 73

3. 4. 9 Henmon-Nelson Percentile Scores for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 75

3. 4. 10 Henmon-Nelson Percentile Scores for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 76

3. 4. 11 Henmon-Nelson I. Q. Scores for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 77

Table Page

3. 4. 12 Henmon-Nelson I. Q. Scores for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 78

3. 4. 13 Henmon-Nelson Percentile Scores for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 79

3. 4. 14 Henmon-Nelson Percentile Scores for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 80

3. 4. 15 Henmon-Nelson I. Q. Scores for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 82

3. 4. 16 Henmon-Nelson I. Q. Scores for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 83

3. 4. 17 Henmon-Nelson Percentile Scores for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 84

3. 4. 18 Henmon-Nelson Percentile Scores for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 85

3. 4. 19 Average Henmon-Nelson I. Q. Scores for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 87

3. 4. 20 Average Henmon-Nelson I. Q. Scores for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 88

3. 4. 21 Average Henmon-Nelson Percentile Scores for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 89

3. 4. 22 Average Henmon-Nelson Percentile Scores for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 90

3. 4. 23 Average Henmon-Nelson I. Q. Scores for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 92

3. 4. 24 Average Henmon-Nelson I. Q. Scores for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 93

3. 4. 25 Average Henmon-Nelson Percentile Scores for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 94

Table Page

3. 4. 26 Average Henmon-Nelson Percentile Scores for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 95

3. 4. 27 Grade Averages for Sixth and Twelfth Grade Pupils 97

3. 4. 28 Grade Averages for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 98

3. 4. 29 Grade Averages for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 99

3. 4. 30 Grade Averages for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 101

3. 4. 31 Grade Averages for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 102

3. 4. 32 Grade Averages for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 103

3. 4. 33 Grade Averages for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 104

3. 4. 34 Grade Averages for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 106

3. 4. 35 Grade Averages for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 107

3. 4. 36 Average Grade Averages for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 108

3. 4. 37 Average Grade Averages for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 109

3. 4. 38 Average Grade Averages for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 110

3. 4. 39 Average Grade Averages for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 111

Table Page

3. 4. 40 Percentile Rank in Class for Twelfth Grade Pupils 113

3. 4. 41 Percentile Rank in Class for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 114

3. 4. 42 Percentile Rank in Class for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 116

3. 4. 43 Percentile Rank in Class for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 117

3. 4. 44 Percentile Rank in Class for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 118

3. 4. 45 Average Percentile Rank in Class for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 119

3. 4. 46 Average Percentile Rank in Class for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 120

3. 5. 1 Occupational Aspirations for Sixth and Twelfth Grade Pupils 125

3. 5. 2 Occupational Expectations for Sixth and Twelfth Grade Pupils 125

3. 5. 3 Occupational Aspirations for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 127

3. 5. 4 Occupational Aspirations for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 128

3. 5. 5 Occupational Expectations for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 129

3. 5. 6 Occupational Expectations for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 130

3. 5. 7 Occupational Aspirations for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 131

3. 5. 8 Occupational Aspirations for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 132

3. 5. 9 Occupational Expectations for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 133

Table Page

3. 5. 10 Occupational Expectations for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 134

3. 5. 11 Occupational Aspirations for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 136

3. 5. 12 Occupational Aspirations for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 137

3. 5. 13 Occupational Expectations for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 138

3. 5. 14 Occupational Expectations for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 139

3. 5. 15 Occupational Aspirations for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 140

3. 5. 16 Occupational Aspirations for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 141

3. 5. 17 Occupational Expectations for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 142

3. 5. 18 Occupational Expectations for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 143

3. 5. 19 Percentage of Sixth Grade Pupils Aspiring to Professional and Managerial Occupations Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 144

3. 5. 20 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils Aspiring to Professional and Managerial Occupations Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 145

3. 5. 21 Percentage of Sixth Grade Pupils Expecting to Perform Professional and Managerial Occupations Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father . 147

3. 5. 22 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils Expecting to Perform Professional and Managerial Occupations Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father . 148

3. 5. 23 Percentage of Sixth Grade Pupils Aspiring to Professional and Managerial Occupations Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 149

Table Page

3. 5. 24 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils Aspiring to Professional and Managerial Occupations Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 150

3. 5. 25 Percentage of Sixth Grade Pupils Expecting to Perform Professional and Managerial Occupations Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 151

3. 5. 26 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils Expecting to Perform Professional and Managerial Occupations Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 152

3. 5. 27 Educational Aspirations and Expectations for Sixth Grade Pupils 154

3. 5. 28 Educational Aspirations for Twelfth Grade Pupils 154

3. 5. 29 After High School Graduation Choices and Expectations for Twelfth Grade Pupils 155

3. 5. 30 Educational Aspirations for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 157

3. 5. 31 Educational Expectations for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 158

3. 5. 32 Educational Aspirations for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 159

3. 5. 33 After High School Graduation Choices for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School . . 160

3. 5. 34 After High School Graduation Expectations for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School . . 161

3. 5. 35 Educational Aspirations for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 162

3. 5. 36 Educational Expectations for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 163

3. 5. 37 Educational Aspirations for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 164

3. 5. 38 After High School Graduation Choices for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father . 165

Table Page

3. 5. 39 After High School Expectations for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 166

3. 5. 40 Educational Aspirations for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 167

3. 5. 41 Educational Expectations for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 168

3. 5. 42 Educational Aspirations for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 169

3. 5. 43 After High School Graduation Choices for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father . . 170

3. 5. 44 After High School Graduation Expectations for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father . . 171

3. 5. 45 Educational Aspirations for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 173

3. 5. 46 Educational Expectations for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 174

3. 5. 47 Educational Aspirations for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 175

3. 5. 48 After High School Graduation Choices for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 176

3. 5. 49 After High School Graduation Expectations for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 177

3. 5. 50 Percentage of Sixth Grade Pupils Aspiring to College Educations Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 178

3. 5. 51 Percentage of Sixth Grade Pupils Expecting College Educations Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 179

3. 5. 52 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils Aspiring to at Least Four Years of College Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 180

Table Page

3. 5. 53 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils Whose After High School Graduation Choice is to Attend College Full Time for Four Years Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 181

3. 5. 54 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils Whose After High School Graduation Expectation is to Attend College Full Time for Four Years Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 182

3. 5. 55 Percentage of Sixth Grade Pupils Aspiring to College Educations Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 183

3. 5. 56 Percentage of Sixth Grade Pupils Expecting College Educations Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 184

3. 5. 57 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils Aspiring to at Least Four Years of College Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father . . . 185

3. 5. 58 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils Whose After High School Graduation Choice is to Attend College Full Time for Four Years Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 186

3. 5. 59 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils Whose After High School Graduation Expectations is to Attend College Full Time for Four Years Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 187

3. 5. 60 College Plans for Twelfth Grade Pupils 189

3. 5. 61 Applications to College for Twelfth Grade Pupils 189

3. 5. 62 College Plans for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 190

3. 5. 63 Applications to College for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 191

3. 5. 64 College Plans for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 192

3. 5. 65 Applications to College for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 193

Table		Page
3. 5. 66	College Plans for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father	195
3. 5. 67	Applications to College for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father	196
3. 5. 68	College Plans for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home	197
3. 5. 69	Applications to College for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home	198
3. 5. 70	Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils who Plan to Attend College Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father	199
3. 5. 71	Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils who Have Applied to College Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father	200
3. 5. 72	Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils who Plan to Attend College Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father	201
3. 5. 73	Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils who Have Applied to College Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father	202
3. 6. 1	Interest in Learning for Sixth and Twelfth Grade Pupils	208
3. 6. 2	Interest in Learning for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School	209
3. 6. 3	Interest in Learning for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School	210
3. 6. 4	Interest in Learning for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father	212
3. 6. 5	Interest in Learning for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father	213
3. 6. 6	Interest in Learning for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father	214

Table Page

3. 6. 7 Interest in Learning for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 215

3. 6. 8 Interest in Learning for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 216

3. 6. 9 Interest in Learning for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 217

3. 6. 10 Percentage of Sixth Grade Pupils who Wish to be Best in the Class Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 219

3. 6. 11 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils who Wish to be Best in the Class Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 220

3. 6. 12 Percentage of Sixth Grade Pupils who Wish to be Best in the Class Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 221

3. 6. 13 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils who Wish to be Best in the Class Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 222

3. 6. 14 Self Concept for Twelfth Grade Pupils 224

3. 6. 15 Self Concept for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 226

3. 6. 16 Self Concept for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 227

3. 6. 17 Self Concept for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 229

3. 6. 18 Self Concept for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 230

3. 6. 19 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils who Think they are Smarter than Average Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 231

3. 6. 20 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils who Think they are Smarter than Average Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 232

Table Page

3. 6. 21 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils who Respond Positively to Other Questions Regarding Self Concept 234

3. 6. 22 Control over Environment for Sixth and Twelfth Grade Pupils 235

3. 6. 23 Control over Environment for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 237

3. 6. 24 Control over Environment for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 238

3. 6. 25 Control over Environment for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 239

3. 6. 26 Control over Environment for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 240

3. 6. 27 Control over Environment for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 242

3. 6. 28 Control over Environment for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 243

3. 6. 29 Control over Environment for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 244

3. 6. 30 Control over Environment for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 245

3. 6. 31 Percentage of Sixth Grade Pupils who Believe they Have some Control over the Environment - A Chance in Life - Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 246

3. 6. 32 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils who Believe they Have some Control Over the Environment - A Chance in Life - Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 247

3. 6. 33 Percentage of Sixth Grade Pupils who Believe they Have some Control over the Environment - A Chance in Life - Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 249

Table Page

3. 6. 34 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils who Believe they Have some Control over the Environment - A Chance in Life - Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 250

3. 6. 35 Further Control of Environment for Twelfth Grade Pupils 251

3. 6. 36 Further Control of Environment for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School . . . 252

3. 6. 37 Further Control of Environment for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father . . . 253

3. 6. 38 Further Control of Environment for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father . . . 255

3. 6. 39 Further Control of Environment for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 256

3. 6. 40 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils who Believe they Will not Have a Hard Time Getting the Right Kind of Job Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 257

3. 6. 41 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils who Believe they Will Not Have a Hard Time Getting the Right Kind of Job Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 258

3. 6. 42 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils Checking Factors Which They Believe Aid Advancement 259

3. 6. 43 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils Stating that Race Aids Advancement Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 259

3. 6. 44 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils Stating that Race Aids Advancement Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 261

3. 6. 45 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils Stating that Race Aids Advancement Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 261

3. 6. 46 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils Stating that Race Aids Advancement Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 262

Table Page

3. 6. 47 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils Stating that Race Aids Advancement Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 263

3. 7. 1 Desired Number of White Classmates for Sixth and Twelfth Grade Pupils 268

3. 7. 2 Desired Number of White Classmates for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 269

3. 7. 3 Desired Number of White Classmates for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School . 270

3. 7. 4 Desired Number of White Classmates for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 271

3. 7. 5 Desired Number of White Classmates for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 272

3. 7. 6 Desired Number of White Classmates for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 273

3. 7. 7 Desired Number of White Classmates for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 274

3. 7. 8 Desired Number of White Classmates for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 276

3. 7. 9 Desired Number of White Classmates for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 277

3. 7. 10 Percentage of Sixth Grade Pupils Desiring Most or All Classmates of the Same Race as the Pupil Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 278

3. 7. 11 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils Desiring Most or All Classmates of the Same Race as the Pupil Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 279

3. 7. 12 Percentage of Sixth Grade Pupils Desiring Most or All Classmates of the Same Race as the Pupil Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 280

3. 7. 13 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils Desiring Most or All Classmates of the Same Race as the Pupil Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 281

Table | Page

3. 7. 14 Proportion of White Best Friends for Sixth and Twelfth Grade Pupils 283

3. 7. 15 Proportion of White Best Friends for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School . . . 284

3. 7. 16 Proportion of White Best Friends for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School . . . 285

3. 7. 17 Proportion of White Best Friends for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father . . . 286

3. 7. 18 Proportion of White Best Friends for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father . . . 287

3. 7. 19 Proportion of White Best Friends for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father . . . 289

3. 7. 20 Proportion of White Best Friends for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father . . . 290

3. 7. 21 Proportion of White Best Friends for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 291

3. 7. 22 Proportion of White Best Friends for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 292

3. 7. 23 Percentage of Sixth Grade Pupils with All White Friends Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 293

3. 7. 24 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils with All White Friends Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 294

3. 7. 25 Percentage of Sixth Grade Pupils with All White Friends Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 296

3. 7. 26 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils with All White Friends Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 297

3. 7. 27 Desired Number of White Teachers for Twelfth Grade Pupils 298

Table Page

3. 7. 28 Preference of Another School for Sixth Grade Pupils . . . 298

3. 7. 29 Preference of Another School for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 300

3. 7. 30 Preference of Another School for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 301

3. 7. 31 Preference of Another School for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 302

3. 7. 32 Preference of Another School for Sixth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 303

3. 7. 33 Percentage of Sixth Grade Pupils who do not Prefer Another School Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 305

3. 7. 34 Percentage of Sixth Grade Pupils who do not Prefer Another School Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 306

3. 7. 35 Compatibility of Races in School for Twelfth Grade Pupils 307

3. 7. 36 Frequency of Interracial Parties for Twelfth Grade Pupils 307

3. 7. 37 Compatibility of Races in School for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 308

3. 7. 38 Frequency of Interracial Parties for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 310

3. 7. 39 Compatibility of Races in School for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 311

3. 7. 40 Frequency of Interracial Parties for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 312

3. 7. 41 Compatibility of Races in School for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 313

3. 7. 42 Frequency of Interracial Parties for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 314

3. 7. 43 Compatibility of Races in School for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 315

Table Page

3. 7. 44 Frequency of Interracial Parties for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percentage of Fellow Students who Have an Encyclopedia in the Home 316

3. 7. 45 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils who Say the Races Get Along not so Well or Poorly Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father . . . 318

3. 7. 46 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils who Never Have Interracial Parties Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Occupation of Pupil's Father 319

3. 7. 47 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils who Say the Races Get Along not so Well or Poorly Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 320

3. 7. 48 Percentage of Twelfth Grade Pupils who Never Have Interracial Parties Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School and Education of Pupil's Father 321

3. 7. 49 Qualities Attributed to Races for Twelfth Grade Pupils . . 323

3. 7. 50 Qualities Attributed to Races for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Percent Negro in the School 324

3. 7. 51 Qualities Attributed to Races for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Occupation of Pupil's Father 326

3. 7. 52 Qualities Attributed to Races for Twelfth Grade Pupils Within Categories of Education of Pupil's Father 329

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

An important aspect of an investigation of de facto school segregation is the effect of racial separation in schools on the intellectual and emotional development of students. The school years are supposedly when children develop not only the abilities but also the attitudes needed to cope with adult life. Assuming this is true, an investigation of the ways in which racial segregation in schools affects the development of children also adds to an understanding of the attitudes and behaviors of adults who have attended segregated schools.

The effect of racial separation on the development of school children was considered when the U.S. Supreme Court [1954:493] ruled that segregated schools were "inherently unequal." The Supreme Court Decisions were based, in part, on the testimony of social scientists [Appendix to Appelant's Brief, 1952] documenting the debilitating effects of racial separation on the personality development of Negro children. At that time, seemingly little systematic research had been done on the effect of school segregation on the intellectual development of students. Major attempts have been made since 1954 to remedy this lack of information, most notably the nationwide survey sponsored by the Office of Education entitled Equal Educational Opportunity [Coleman, et. al., 1966] and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission investigation reported in Racial Isolation in the Public Schools [1967]. The widespread applicability of continued investigation of the effects of racial segregation in schools is attested to by the Office of Education study which found that "the great majority of American children attend schools that are largely segregated..." [Coleman, et al., 1966:3]. In fact, evidence suggests that racial separation in schools is increasing rather than decreasing, especially in the cities of the North [U.S. Civil Rights Commission, 1967:8-10, and Appendix A, Table III]. As the Supreme Court Decisions of 1954 seemingly did not have the intended result of substantially reducing racial segregation in schools, analyses of the effects of such racial separation on students continue to be relevant.

The Office of Education survey focused on the qualities of public schools which lead to unequal academic achievement of students. Because the emphasis in this study was to identify the variables which lead to inequality of educational opportunity, the influence of a number of factors on the achievement of majority and minority children was considered. Racial composition of the schools was only one of these factors, not the predominant one. In fact, of the factors which can be assigned to the schools, rather than to the individual students, those which were found to have the most effect on the achievement of students are, first and most importantly, the social class and educational background of other students in the school and, secondly, the quality of teachers. Variation in students' achievement which is related to differences in racial composition of the schools is said to be "largely, perhaps wholly, related to," or "largely accounted for by," other student body characteristics [Coleman, et al., 1966:307 and 330]. Effects of racial segregation on students are apparent, however, since most minority children attend schools in which the majority of the student body are in lower social class and educational categories and in which the teachers have lower verbal ability scores [Coleman, et al., 1966:184-201, 130-148].

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission investigation did focus on the effect of racial isolation in the schools on the development of pupils. A reanalysis of some of the data from the Office of Education survey suggests that the racial composition of schools has an effect on the achievement of minority children which is independent of the effect of the characteristics of other students or of teachers. Negro children in schools which consist of more than one-half white pupils achieve better on tests than do Negro children in schools having fewer white pupils, regardless of the educational background of other students or verbal ability of teachers [U.S. Civil Rights Commission Report, 1967:I, 89-91 and 96-100]. This report emphasizes moreover, that academic achievement is only one important outcome of schooling, that the effect of school segregation on the aspirations and attitudes of pupils deserves equal emphasis [1967:I, 73]. Unfortunately, little information is provided by this report or by the Office of Education survey on these aspirations and attitudes. The present investigation attempts to partially remedy this lack.

Although it has been possible to document the extent of racial separation in schools and to examine some of the effects of this separation, there is still no universally accepted definition of school desegregation. The Civil Rights Commission [1967:101] suggests that one half or more white students make the difference in the academic achievement of Negro pupils. This is also the definition of desegregation accepted by some states which are attempting legally to desegregate schools [c.f., Massachusetts]. There does not seem to be any evidence of the reasoning used to arrive at this magic "one-half or more white" ratio. A workable definition of school desegregation would seem to be aided by more research on the effects of specific racial compositions of schools not only on the achievement but also on the aspirations, attitudes, and other behaviors of the students of both races. The present study attempts to provide some of this information. It is confined to schools in five Connecticut communities and is, therefore, probably applicable to but not strictly generalizable to other cities which experience de facto school segregation.

It is suggested that particular racial mixtures in schools might be more conducive to the development of students than are other mixtures, or more effective for some types of students than for others. Token integration might be more harmful to minority children than segregated schools, i.e. schools with a majority of Negro children, if the findings of Rosenberg [1965:64-68] on the debilitating effects of being in a numerical minority in a neighborhood are applicable to the schools. Data from the Office of Education study also suggest that in schools which are predominantly white the minority children vary greatly in achievement--some children achieve better than average but others attain lower than average achievement scores [Coleman, et al., 1966:331-333]. Also, racial mixtures which are advantageous for one or more aspects of a pupil's development may be uneffective or disadvantageous for other aspects. For example, the Office of Education survey documents the positive effects of increasing percentages of white students in the school on the sense of control over their environment enjoyed by Negro children in these schools. However, increases in the percentage of white children in a school is also associated with a loss in positive self-concept for the Negro pupils in the school. In the present investigation the effects of differing racial compositions of schools on the various aspects of students' development will be examined with the hope that the beneficial and detrimental effects of each racial mixture can be specified.

The following chapters attempt to examine the effects of varying racial mixtures in schools on several aspects of the intellectual and emotional development of pupils. Chapter Two explores the methods by which this investigation was pursued. The measurement of the racial composition of schools as well as the measurement of other school-related and individual variables which might affect the development of students are discussed. Chapter Three documents the differences among schools of varying racial mixtures in terms of differences in the background and attitudes of teachers in these schools. Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven deal respectively with the effects of school segregation on the achievement, aspirations and expectations for future achievement, attitudes toward themselves and toward their environment, and racially related attitudes and behaviors of the students in the schools. Chapter Eight attempts to summarize what has been learned from this investigation and to suggest what further might be investigated.

Chapter Two

METHODOLOGY AND MEASUREMENT

The subject of the present investigation is the effects of de facto school segregation in five medium-sized Connecticut communities: Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, Stamford and Waterbury. There are a number of advantages associated with the restriction of the analysis to such cities. In general, while they differ in many respects, their similarities serve to hold constant a number of factors which are related to the level of achievement, aspirations, interracial attitudes, etc., of students. Specifically, regional and rural-urban differences as well as the influence of the state on education are controlled by choosing cities within one state. Furthermore, each community has a substantial Negro population which makes possible the analysis of the effects of the school on a relatively large number of Negro pupils. However, none of these cities is so exclusively Negro in population as to make segregated schools the only possibility. In fact, schools with a wide range of racial mixtures are obtained. By restricting the analysis, therefore, to these types of communities it is possible to more clearly isolate and identify the effects of de facto segregation in schools on various aspects of student attitudes, performance and behavior patterns.

Forty-seven elementary and 13 high schools provided the sites of investigation.[1] In these schools, 2690 sixth and 1637 twelfth grade pupils were surveyed as to their attitudes and behavior.[2] Data were collected by the use of a fairly standard questionnaire form. Some of the questions asked of a nationwide sample of students in the Office of Education survey [Coleman, et al., 1966] were included to allow for the comparison of the data collected in Connecticut with that collected from a national sample. Moreover, questions were adopted from other sources where they were pertinent to the focus of the present study, and a number of items were specially devised. Additional data were provided by standardized tests administered to the students by the school systems, by information from school records, and questionnaires completed by 248 teachers.[3]

---

[1] All high schools in the five cities were included. The 47 elementary schools were chosen from a total of 136. The elementary schools were chosen in order to include approximately the same number of schools in each category of "percentage of Negro students in the school" - the categories were 0-14%, 15-29%, 30-50%, 51-69%, 70-84%, and 85-100%. Also, schools were selected within each interval in order to yield approximately the same number of white pupils in schools which are predominantly Negro as the number of Negro pupils in schools which are mainly white.

[2] All sixth grade pupils in the 47 elementary schools were given questionnaires to complete if they were present on the chosen day. A sample of one-third of all twelfth graders in the 13 high schools received questionnaires: 1780 students. Questionnaires were completed by over 90 percent of these seniors.

The effects of de facto school segregation on the students within these institutions are examined through the technique of contextual or compositional analysis. The technique consists of classifying individuals, in this case students, by group-level properties such as the proportion of Negroes in a school or the proportion of fellow students having college-educated fathers. Once this is accomplished, variations in the attitudes and behaviors which are related to these group-level properties can then be examined independently of the effect of individual properties such as the race of a student or the level of his father's education.[4] This technique has often been used in studies similar to the present investigation [cf., Wilson, 1959; Coleman, et al., 1966; and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, 1967]. Even so, the merits of contextual analysis have been hotly debated. Most criticisms of the approach allude to the tautological arguments that are associated with the problem of classifying individuals by group-level properties when these group properties are "really" averages of their own attributes.[5]

---

[3] High school teachers were chosen in somewhat different ways in each of the five cities, some at random, some by taking every nth teacher from a directory, and, in one city, all senior home room teachers were given questionnaires. From a total of 179 high school teachers receiving the questionnaires, 130 completed them. One hundred and eight sixth grade teachers were given questionnaires in the 47 elementary schools in the sample, and an additional 60 teachers from other grade schools in the five cities were questioned. Of the 168 elementary teachers, 118 replied.

[4] The most direct formulation of contextual analysis is presented by Kendall and Lazarsfeld [1950:196], "Just as we can classify people by demographic variables or by their attitudes, we can also classify them by the kind of environment in which they live. The appropriate variables for such a classification are likely to be unit data. A survey analysis would then cover both personal and unit data simultaneously."

[5] The central variable in the present investigation, the racial composition of the schools, was determined independently of the questionnaire data. Thus, although this variable is a part of the context in which students exist, some of the criticisms of contextual analysis are avoided. Schools were grouped into categories of racial mixtures in order to achieve relatively similar numbers of students in each category and to allow a reasonable variation in racial composition between categories. The great differences in the racial compositions of elementary and secondary schools made it necessary to use different categories of proportion of Negro students in schools for sixth graders and for twelfth graders.

A second criticism is that this technique does not allow the investigator to isolate and identify the contextual effects from those that are a result of self-selection. To guard against the hasty conclusions that may result from contextual or compositional analysis, therefore, rather careful control procedures were developed and wherever possible the effects of institutional socialization were noted by inference from the cross-sectional data. While these procedures have, no doubt, left many questions unanswered, the technique appears, nevertheless, to be the best at our disposal for the purposes at hand. It is, therefore, employed in this study to delimit the possible independent effect of the racial composition of schools on individual students.

A number of other contextual variables that seemed indicative of differences in "school climate" and were expected, as a result, to be related to variations in the "dependent" variables were considered for inclusion in the present investigation. The Office of Education study [Coleman, et al., 1966:302-312] examined the effects of three such variables--the percentages of students in a school whose fathers have white collar jobs, whose fathers completed high school, and who have encyclopedias in their homes. The data from Connecticut schools indicated that the three variables were highly correlated with one another and had a similar effect on the measures of achievement, mobility aspirations and interracial attitudes. Rather than use all three characteristics, therefore, a decision was made to use only the percentage of students having an encyclopedia in their home. This factor was divided in such a way that each category included an approximately equal number of schools.[6]

It was assumed, of course, that measures of school context would indicate something about the "school climate" or the prevailing norms, values and beliefs characterizing a student body or a grade level of students. In this particular study, the focus is on the degree to which the percentage of Negroes in a school are related to a normative environment that becomes a constraining force on values, aspirations, and the performance of individual students.

A multivariate analysis was employed to isolate and identify the contextual or "structural" effects manifested through a measure of the percentage of Negroes in a school. This multivariate analysis made use of the characteristics of individual students, mentioned in the foregoing as "control" variables. Two characteristics which have been found to be related to the dependent variables dealt with here are the social class and educational backgrounds, or family origins, of the pupils. Students were, therefore, assigned to categories according to their fathers' occupation and amount of education. A relatively common classification of occupations was used.[7] Educational backgrounds were classified as less than high school, high school graduate, and some college. The evidence for both characteristics are based, of course, on answers to questions given by the students and, therefore, are biased to the extent that the students do not have the information needed[8] or do not provide valid information. Even with the use of anonymous questionnaires there might be some tendency to upgrade their fathers' status.

---

[6] Categories differ for grade school and high schools because the distribution of students having encyclopedias in elementary schools is much different from that in high schools.

A third characteristic, the pupils' race, is treated as a factor of major importance in "explaining" their attitudes and behaviors. Coleman [Coleman, et al., 1966] considered this characteristic to be so important that the Office of Education study analyzed the influences of both the contextual variables and the characteristics of the individual students on each racial group separately. The present study will also use this approach. The procedure of analysis will be as follows: (1) First, the effects of a student's race on the dependent variables will be examined; (2) secondly, the effects of the racial composition of the school, the student's occupational and educational background, and percentage of students with encyclopedias in their homes will be examined within each racial group. This tactic seems feasible since it is possible that these other factors will affect each race differently.[9] It is thought, therefore, that a failure to distinguish racial groupings will only obscure important differences.

While the Office of Education study provided ample evidence dealing with the amount of variance in the pupils' academic achievement explained by each of a great number of factors, it is hoped that the present report will provide complementary evidence of the "raw" effect of some of these factors on the achievement of students and on other aspects of individual development. To do so, the effects of the school context, and the characteristics of the pupils,on the attitudes and behaviors of students will be presented in terms of percentage differences within categories of the former. By comparing the percentage of Negroes and whites who have high and low school grades, for example, one can arrive at the effect of race on grades. This approach does not, however, say anything about the amount of variation in achievement which can be explained by race. One advantage to this type of presentation is that if the variation in the students' attitudes and behaviors is not affected significantly by any of the factors being considered, this fact will be quite clear from a cursory examination of the the tables. The disadvantage is, of course, that it is not possible to specify how much of the variance in the attitudes and behaviors of students is explained by each contributing factor.

---

[7] Using the U.S. Commerce Department's Alphabetical Index of Occupations and Industries [1966], professional and managerial occupations are those coded 006-299, clerical and sales are coded 300-399, skilled are 400-599, semi-skilled 600-799, unskilled 800-999.

[8] Students were asked to name their fathers' occupations, or "what their father did" as closely as possible. For a discussion of the merits of this open-ended question, rather than asking respondents to check the category which best corresponds to the occupation, see Colfax and Allen [1967].

[9] Many of the criticisms of this procedure in the Office of Education report were aimed at the use of correlation analysis within categories of race. The present study does not employ correlation analysis but instead presents tables in terms of percentages and, when possible, averages. Thus, the effect of various factors on the universe of students could be examined by combining the tables presented for each race.

Chapter Three

TEACHERS AND DE FACTO SCHOOL SEGREGATION

The social and educational background of teachers describe an important part of the social environment of the school in which students learn the attitudes, skills, and behavior which prepare them for adulthood. Within the school setting, their social origins, the quality of their educational training and their professional experience all act to influence the manner in which teachers interact with students and, in turn, train and socialize them. By the same token, a teacher's attitudes toward and beliefs about minority groups and other social classes in the United States may prove important in understanding why some students receive high grades and are considered exemplary in deportment white other are looked upon as poor pupils and "trouble-makers." These considerations are especially relevant in understanding some of the important consequences of de facto school segregation. That is, to the degree that teachers found in schools attended by predominantly Negro students are ill-equipped to teach the requisite attitudes, skills and behaviors, these students are at a disadvantage in pursuing adult careers. This is especially true with the emergence of "The Expert Society." Furthermore, to the extent that these teachers "label" Negroes as lacking in ability and lazy, a social system is created in the school which may "cause" mediocre performance, depressed aspirations and expectations, and in many cases hostile reactions to the system on the part of pupils as well as their parents. Where teachers of this sort are found in combination with a school climate that devalues academic and educational pursuits, the school experience of Negro youth may lead to the perpetuation of a system of racial inequality in the society as a whole. This attests to the importance of examining the characteristics of teachers as they relate to schools of differing racial composition. This is the subject of this chapter.[1]

The characteristics of teachers considered important in the present study were their social origins, educational and professional experience, attitudes toward various classes of students and toward the school system, and their beliefs concerning the racial integration of the public schools. These correspond roughly to the qualities of teachers investigated in the Office of Education survey [Coleman, et al., 1966] and to those considered important by Kenneth Clark [1965], Conant [1961], Herriott and St. John [1966], and others. These characteristics are examined as they relate to the racial composition of the schools in Connecticut's five central cities.

---

[1] No attempt is made to examine the effect of teacher differences on the students' behavior directly because of the small number of teachers in each category of racial composition of the schools.

Findings

Social Origins

The teachers' social origins are indicated by their race, range of geographic mobility, and their educational and social class backgrounds. Of all the social and personal characteristics of teachers, race is easily the most visible. As a result, it might be expected that Negro teachers would be found more frequently in those schools with a relatively high proportion of Negro students. Moreover, due to the fact that the elementary grades are generally housed in "neighborhood" schools, it might be expected that this relationship would be most evident in elementary schools. While the preponderance of white teachers in the sample does not allow for much range of variation among schools of different racial mixtures, some differences do exist. As was expected, elementary schools which are almost exclusively Negro in composition are more likely to have Negro teachers (Table 3.3.1). The differences involved, however, are slight. Moreover, the relationship between the percentage of Negro students in a school and the proportion of Negro teachers is not unilinear. The relationship is even less clear in high schools. Here we find that the most integrated are most likely to have Negro teachers, while those which have either exclusively white or predominantly Negro students have no Negro teachers (Table 3.3.2). In general, these results fail to provide much support for the notion that Negro teachers are more likely in predominantly Negro schools, although this seems to be the case nationally [Coleman, et al., 1966:126-130]. The nationwide findings may reflect the fact that Negro teachers tend to teach in the school systems of very large cities which are characterized by Negro ghettoes and a preponderance of Negro pupils. This is not the case in Connecticut's five major cities.

Another aspect of a teacher's background that might make a difference in the kinds of values and attitudes transmitted in the classroom is the teacher's diversity of experience. This diversity can be indicated, in part, by the amount of geographic mobility the teacher has experienced over the years. Those teachers who had not moved around a good deal might be expected to be more "provincial" and, as a result, transmit this provinciality to students. Two measures of the amount of geographic

TABLE 3.3.1

RACE OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Negro	5.0	7.1	4.3	0.0	14.3	7
White	95.0	92.9	95.7	100.0	85.7	102
N	40	14	23	11	21	109

TABLE 3.3.2

RACE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Negro	0.0	2.2	15.8	5.9	0.0	6
White	100.0	97.8	84.2	94.1	100.0	118
N	15	45	19	34	11	124

mobility of teachers are used: (1) whether they are teaching in the same place in which they spent most of their lives; (2) whether they graduated from high school in the same city in which they are now teaching. As can be seen from a cursory examination of Tables 3.3.3 and 3.3.4, most of the teachers in the present investigation have spent most of their lives in the city in which they are now teaching. There is little or no difference between elementary and high school teachers on this score. A rather surprising finding is that the teachers of predominantly Negro students are more likely to have lived outside the present city than are teachers of predominantly white students. Among elementary school teachers, those who teach in schools which have Negro students exclusively are the most likely to have lived outside of Connecticut (Table 3.3.3). Among high school teachers the same trend is evident. Those who teach in schools consisting of more than one-quarter Negro students are most likely to have lived outside the present city, and those who teach in schools having more than one-half Negro pupils are the only group of teachers who are likely to have lived out-of-state for most of their lives (Table 3.3.4).

Relatedly, those teachers who have grown up in large cities would be expected to be less "provincial" than others. A small proportion of the teachers in this survey spent their early years in large cities (Tables 3.3.5 and 3.3.6). There seems to be little difference between elementary and high school teachers in this regard. Among grade school teachers, those that teach in predominantly Negro schools are more likely to have lived in a large city than other teachers (Table 3.3.5). Elementary school students in predominantly Negro schools are also more likely to have teachers who have grown up in small towns than are pupils in predominantly white schools. The same pattern is apparent in regard to high school teachers (Table 3.3.6).

Lastly, it was found that a majority of grade school and high school teachers graduated from high schools located in the same city in which they are now teaching (Tables 3.3.7 and 3.3.8). Again, however, those who are teaching in grade schools with almost all Negro pupils stand out. They are more likely than other teachers to have graduated from high schools in other states (Table 3.3.7). A general trend is also evident. That is, as the percentage of Negro students in the schools increases, there tend to be fewer locally educated teachers on their staffs. This general trend is less vivid among high school teachers (Table 3.3.8).

It seems, therefore, that while parochial values may characterize a substantial majority of teachers in Connecticut's five central cities, the Negro students may actually come in contact with fewer parochial teachers than whites. It may be, of course, that this difference is not enough to overcome some of the other disadvantages associated with de facto school segregation and is, therefore, relatively unimportant in the total scheme of things.

TABLE 3.3.3

LOCATION IN WHICH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS HAVE SPENT MOST OF THEIR LIVES WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Present city	70.7	92.9	70.8	54.5	52.4	76
Another Connecticut city	7.3	0.0	16.7	27.3	19.0	14
Another state	22.0	7.1	12.5	18.2	28.6	21
N	41	14	24	11	21	111

TABLE 3.3.4

LOCATION IN WHICH SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS HAVE SPENT MOST OF THEIR LIVES WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Present city	73.3	77.8	78.9	55.9	45.5	85
Another Connecticut city	6.7	8.9	0.0	17.6	0.0	11
Another state	20.0	13.3	21.1	26.5	54.5	28
N	15	45	19	34	11	124

TABLE 3.3.5

TYPE OF COMMUNITY IN WHICH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS SPENT THE MAJOR PART OF THEIR YOUTH WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Farm	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.8	1
Small town	19.5	7.1	20.8	9.1	33.3	22
Small city	58.5	71.4	62.5	36.4	28.6	59
Large city	22.0	21.4	16.7	54.5	33.3	29
N	41	14	24	11	21	111

TABLE 3.3.6

TYPE OF COMMUNITY IN WHICH SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS SPENT THE MAJOR PART OF THEIR YOUTH WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Farm	6.7	0.0	0.0	2.9	20.0	4
Small town	13.3	13.3	15.8	20.6	20.0	20
Small city	66.7	75.6	73.7	41.2	30.0	75
Large city	13.3	11.1	10.5	35.3	30.0	24
N	15	45	19	34	10	124

TABLE 3.3.7

LOCATION OF HIGH SCHOOL FROM WHICH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS GRADUATED WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Present city	63.4	85.7	58.3	54.5	42.9	67
Another Connecticut city	14.6	0.0	20.8	27.3	14.3	17
Another state	22.0	14.3	20.8	18.2	42.9	27
N	41	14	24	11	21	111

TABLE 3.3.8

LOCATION OF HIGH SCHOOL FROM WHICH SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS GRADUATED WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Present city	60.0	68.9	78.9	58.8	36.4	79
Another Connecticut city	6.7	8.9	0.0	11.8	0.0	9
Another state	33.3	22.2	21.1	29.4	63.6	36
N	15	45	19	34	11	124

A sociological analysis of a professional group must take into consideration the members' educational and social class origins. As with other professions, an examination of the important shifts in the social origins of teachers in the last decade or so highlights some of the important changes that have occurred in the profession and the educational establishment. These changes are especially related to the establishment's ability to educate an increasingly heterogeneous student body. It has been noted that today's teachers are being recruited from a broader range of social classes. Teaching is no longer restricted to individuals from lower middle class occupational backgrounds such as farmers, small shopkeepers, etc. Within urban communities, the broadening of the social class backgrounds of teachers may lessen, in one respect at least, the "cultural gap" that so often characterizes the relationship between a teacher and minority group students. While it is evident from the data of the present study that the occupational origins of teachers are no longer as restricted, their educational backgrounds seem rather depressed. In general, it appears that teachers are highly mobile individuals when the educational status of their fathers and mothers is examined. Educational achievement would seem to be a highly prized value to many teachers in Connecticut's schools and this may lead to relationships between these teachers and many of their Negro students that would be charged with conflict. As can be seen in Tables 3.3.9 and 3.3.10, most of the teachers' fathers had only an elementary or grammar school education. Of those who had completed some high school work, approximately half did not finish. Moreover, only 15 percent of the teachers' fathers had more than a high school education. When teachers of different age groupings of students are compared, it is found that elementary school teachers come from more humble educational origins than high school teachers. A relatively surprising finding, and one that differs from those reported in the Office of Education survey [Coleman, et al., 1966:124-125], is that grade school teachers found in schools having a majority of Negro pupils are more likely to have fathers who received more education than teachers of mainly white students (Table 3.3.9). This same pattern is also found in high schools; that is, high school teachers who are teaching in schools with more than one-quarter Negro students are more likely to have fathers with higher educational status than the fathers of other secondary school teachers (Table 3.3.10). As a further check on these results, the educational status of the teachers' mothers were also included in the analysis, and the relationship remained substantially the same (Tables 3.3.11 and 3.3.12).

As was mentioned, the teachers included in the present survey were reared in families representing a relatively broad range of social classes. A large percentage of both elementary and high school teachers came from professional and managerial families (Tables 3.3.13 and 3.3.14). The next largest group of teachers had fathers who were in the skilled trades. It is evident from the results that there is little or no relationship between the occupational status of a teacher's family and the racial composition of the school in which he works. This is true whether elementary or high schools are being considered.

TABLE 3.3.9

EDUCATION OF FATHERS OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
None or elementary	59.0	53.9	63.5	45.5	40.9	59
At least some High School	30.7	30.8	29.2	45.5	27.2	34
More than High School	10.3	15.4	8.3	9.1	31.7	16
N	39	13	24	11	22	109

TABLE 3.3.10

EDUCATION OF FATHERS OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
None or elementary	57.2	41.2	57.9	45.7	45.5	59
At least some High School	14.2	43.5	36.9	37.2	27.3	45
More than High School	28.6	15.2	5.3	17.1	27.3	21
N	14	46	19	35	11	125

TABLE 3.3.11

EDUCATION OF MOTHERS OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
None or elementary	52.5	61.6	60.8	45.5	43.4	58
At least some High School	35.0	38.5	20.4	27.3	34.7	37
More than High School	12.5	0.0	8.7	27.3	21.7	15
N	40	13	23	11	23	110

TABLE 3.3.12

EDUCATION OF MOTHERS OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
None or elementary	61.6	47.8	58.0	35.2	36.4	57
At least some High School	15.4	43.5	21.0	47.0	27.3	45
More than High School	23.1	8.7	21.0	17.6	36.4	21
N	13	46	19	34	11	123

TABLE 3.3.13

OCCUPATION OF FATHERS OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Professional*	33.3	30.8	29.2	27.3	39.1	36
Clerical	17.9	7.7	12.5	18.2	8.7	15
Skilled	25.6	38.5	29.2	18.2	26.1	30
Semi-skilled	12.8	7.7	20.8	18.2	13.0	16
Unskilled	10.3	15.4	8.3	18.2	13.0	13
N	39	13	24	11	23	110

TABLE 3.3.14

OCCUPATION OF FATHERS OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Professional*	13.3	44.4	44.4	40.0	25.0	47
Clerical	20.0	11.1	0.0	8.6	16.7	13
Skilled	13.3	24.4	22.2	20.0	33.3	28
Semi-skilled	33.3	11.1	16.7	17.1	16.7	21
Unskilled	20.0	8.9	16.7	14.3	8.3	16
N	15	45	18	35	12	125

*Professional includes all professional and managerial positions
Clerical includes all clerical and sales positions
Skilled includes all the trades and technical positions
Semi-skilled includes all the operative positions
Unskilled includes laborers, farm and non-farm

A second measure of the social class background of teachers is the income of their families during the time they were growing up. There seems to be little or no relationship between this measure and the racial composition of schools either (Tables 3.3.15 and 3.3.16). This provides added confirmation to the notion that Negro and white schools are both staffed by teachers from similar social class backgrounds. While the social class models projected by teachers in the classrooms of the two settings may be similar, however, the higher educational backgrounds of those teachers who are found in Negro schools may be advantageous to the latter.

Educational Training and Professional Experience

The educational and professional experiences of teachers would seem to be a more direct influence on the nature of teacher-student interactions and what the students learn than the teachers' social origins. In the present study these characteristics are measured by the degree held, the length of teaching experience, the number of schools in which they have taught, their familiarity with the professional literature, and quality of their own academic work while in college, and the teachers' interest in learning about the problems associated with educating disadvantaged students. When teachers were asked to report the highest degree they had received, the only systematic difference between them was whether they were elementary or high school teachers. Grade school teachers were more likely to have received only a bachelor's degree (Table 3.3.17) while high school teachers were more likely to have an advanced degree (Table 3.3.18). This difference should not be overemphasized, however, since only a small percentage of teachers in either type of school reported earning more than a master's degree. The proportion of Negro students in a school proved to have little or no significance in understanding the educational training of teachers in Connecticut's five central cities.[2]

The number of years of experience a teacher has had might also be expected to affect the level of aspirations and academic achievement of the teacher's students. Moreover, it is very likely, according to the sociological literature [cf. Conant, 1961] that Negro schools in the urban community are most likely to be staffed by inexperienced teachers. While this assumption is no doubt valid in large cities across the country, the data from the present study indicate only a slight tendency in this direction. A great majority of these teachers have taught more than five years and could, therefore, be considered fully experienced (Tables 3.3.19 and 3.3.20). As yet, at least, the schools in Connecticut's five central cities have managed to retain their experienced teachers.

---

[2] This corresponds to findings in the Office of Education survey [Coleman, et al., 1966:130-148].

TABLE 3.3.15

INCOME POSITION OF PARENTS OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Highest quarter	5.4	7.7	4.3	0.0	4.3	5
Second quarter	24.3	23.1	34.8	18.2	30.4	29
Third quarter	59.5	69.2	47.8	54.5	43.5	58
Lowest quarter	10.8	0.0	13.0	27.3	21.7	15
N	37	13	23	11	23	107

TABLE 3.3.16

INCOME POSITION OF PARENTS OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Highest quarter	0.0	4.5	0.0	11.8	0.0	6
Second quarter	46.2	34.1	31.6	20.6	30.0	37
Third quarter	15.4	43.2	52.6	50.0	40.0	52
Lowest quarter	38.5	18.2	15.8	17.6	30.0	25
N	13	44	19	34	10	120

TABLE 3.3.17

HIGHEST DEGREE EARNED BY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Bachelor's or less	50.0	35.7	56.5	63.6	58.3	59
Master's	40.0	28.6	39.1	36.4	29.2	40
6th year certificate or more	10.0	35.7	4.3	0.0	12.5	13
N	40	14	23	11	24	112

TABLE 3.3.18

HIGHEST DEGREE EARNED BY SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Bachelor's or less	46.7	40.0	16.7	31.5	60.0	45
Master's	46.7	35.6	66.7	60.0	40.0	60
6th year certificate or more	6.7	24.4	16.7	8.6	0.0	18
N	15	45	18	35	10	123

TABLE 3.3.19

YEARS OF TEACHING EXPERIENCE OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1 - 5	25.0	21.3	29.3	54.6	20.9	31
6 - 10	25.0	28.6	12.5	18.2	37.5	28
11 - 25	35.0	28.5	37.5	27.3	33.3	38
26 or more	15.0	21.4	20.8	0.0	8.3	16
N	40	14	24	11	24	113

TABLE 3.3.20

YEARS OF TEACHING EXPERIENCE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1 - 5	35.6	22.1	27.9	32.4	40.0	23
6 - 10	14.3	31.1	27.8	17.6	30.0	42
11 - 25	28.5	26.6	27.8	20.5	10.0	29
26 or more	21.4	20.0	16.7	29.4	20.0	27
N	14	45	18	34	10	121

Teachers, in general, are not leaving for the suburbs in great numbers as has supposedly happened in many large cities in the United States.[3]

In an attempt to determine the extent of movement between schools by teachers, a question was asked concerning the number of schools in which they had taught since receiving their bachelor's degrees. Approximately 40 percent of the teachers reported that they had taught only in the school where they were now working (Tables 3.3.21 and 3.3.22). Most of the rest have taught in two or three schools; few have experience in four or more. A rather surprising finding was that in elementary schools, the experience of teachers was more likely to be limited to the present school as the percentage of Negro students in the school increased (Table 3.3.21). Among high schools this pattern is less vivid (Table 3.3.22). In general, however, Negro students are more likely to be taught by teachers who have experience in their present school.[4] This finding in combination with others may indicate that the Negro schools enjoy a considerable stability as far as staff is concerned. This at least would allow these schools to develop a set of traditions and customs concerning academic work and deportment that may be to the advantage of their students.

Another measure of educational training and professional experience is the type of teaching certificate held by a teacher. In order to obtain a standard or permanent certificate in Connecticut, a teacher must have completed at least three years of successful teaching and been awarded a master's degree or thirty hours of course credit which is authorized as an equivalent. In addition, a teacher must be awarded a standard certificate after ten years of teaching or the teacher will be asked to leave. A majority of the teachers in Connecticut's five central cities have achieved standard or permanent certificates (Tables 3.3.23 and 3.3.24). This is not the case for teachers in predominantly Negro schools, however. The evidence indicates that as the proportion of Negroes in a school increases, the percentage of teachers holding permanent certificates decreases. Although this finding may be due in part to the shorter length of teaching experience of the teachers in these schools, not all of the discrepancy can be so explained. It would seem that teachers in predominantly white schools fulfill the requirements for permanent certificates in shorter periods of time than teachers of predominantly Negro pupils. These pupils might be disadvantaged, therefore, by having teachers who are not as eager to remain abreast of the current developments in education as others.

---

[3] The Office of Education survey [Coleman, et al., 1966:132] also found that teachers of Negro pupils in the metropolitan Northeast are at least as likely as the teachers of white students to be fully experienced.

[4] Although the Office of Education survey found teachers of Negro pupils nationally to have slightly more experience in their presents schools, the opposite was found in the metropolitan Northeast [Coleman, et al., 1966: 132-148].

TABLE 3.3.21

NUMBER OF DIFFERENT SCHOOLS IN WHICH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS HAVE TAUGHT SINCE RECEIVING THEIR BACHELOR'S DEGREE WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
One	29.3	28.6	38.1	45.5	47.8	40
Two or three	46.3	57.1	28.6	36.4	34.8	45
Four or more	24.3	14.2	33.4	18.2	17.4	25
N	41	14	21	11	23	110

TABLE 3.3.22

NUMBER OF DIFFERENT SCHOOLS IN WHICH SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS HAVE TAUGHT SINCE RECEIVING THEIR BACHELOR'S DEGREE WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
One	26.7	17.8	63.2	36.1	36.4	41
Two or three	40.0	68.8	31.6	44.5	45.5	64
Four or more	33.4	13.3	5.3	19.5	18.2	21
N	15	45	19	36	11	126

TABLE 3.3.23

CERTIFICATION STATUS OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	25-40	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Temporary or provisional	26.2	21.4	31.8	54.6	56.5	40
Permanent	73.8	78.6	68.2	45.5	43.5	72
N	42	14	22	11	23	112

TABLE 3.3.24

CERTIFICATION STATUS OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Temporary or provisional	33.3	24.4	31.6	30.6	45.5	38
Permanent	66.7	75.6	68.4	69.4	54.5	88
N	15	45	19	36	11	126

One possible indicator of the degree of professionalization of teachers, besides their educational experience, is the interest they show in their professional literature. The data indicate that a majority of the teachers read at least one journal (Tables 3.3.25 and 3.3.26), and that more than one third read two or more journals a month. The tables also indicate that Negro students are slightly more likely to be taught by individuals who read at least one journal regularly. This pattern is most clear among high school teachers whose students are more than one-half Negro. While this measure leaves a good deal to be desired, there is some indication that teachers in predominantly Negro schools have comparable, if not more highly developed, professional interest and commitment to education as teachers of white pupils.[5]

The quality of a teacher's academic work while in college would seem to influence the degree of commitment to academic excellence that the teacher could transmit to students. It might also reflect the teachers' enthusiasm for intellectual pursuits. From an examination of the data in Tables 3.3.27 and 3.3.28 it can be seen that more than half of the teachers included in the present study indicated that their college work was at least above average. This is about what might be expected and seems to be in line with other findings reported for the nation as a whole[6] and in local communities. By and large, teachers have not been excellent college students. There is a tendency, furthermore, for the quality of a teacher's academic work to reflect the racial composition of the school. In both elementary schools and high schools, teachers are more likely to report average or below average work as the ratio of Negro to white students increases. However, is it of some interest that the teachers in predominantly Negro high schools are more likely that others to report being honors students in college (Table 3.3.28). It seems, therefore, that the relationship between the quality of a teachers' college work and the racial composition of the school may be more complicated than was anticipated.

To be a successful teacher in the schools of the contemporary urban community would seem to require some interest in and understanding of the problems associated with educating disadvantaged youth.

---

[5] Teachers of Negro pupils were found to read more professional journals than teachers of white students nationally; in the metropolitan Northeast all teachers were equally likely to read journals [Coleman, et al., 1966:132-148].

[6] The Office of Education survey, in a related finding, reports lower verbal ability scores for teachers of Negro pupils [Coleman, et al., 1966:130-148].

TABLE 3.3.25

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALS READ BY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
None regularly	38.1	35.7	20.8	36.4	25.0	36
One journal	28.6	21.4	50.0	27.3	37.5	39
Two journals	21.4	14.3	25.0	27.3	29.2	27
Three or more	11.9	28.6	4.2	9.1	8.3	13
N	42	14	24	11	24	115

TABLE 3.3.26

PROFESSIONAL JOURNALS READ BY SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
None regularly	53.3	32.6	26.3	36.1	18.2	43
One journal	6.7	23.9	31.6	33.3	45.5	35
Two journals	26.7	21.7	21.1	22.2	9.1	27
Three or more	13.3	21.7	21.1	8.3	27.3	22
N	15	46	19	36	11	127

TABLE 3.3.27

QUALITY OF COLLEGE WORK OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Honors	15.4	28.6	8.3	9.1	12.5	16
Above average	46.2	42.9	50.0	36.4	41.7	50
Average or below	38.5	28.6	41.7	54.6	45.8	46
N	39	14	24	11	24	112

TABLE 3.3.28

QUALITY OF COLLEGE WORK OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Honors	28.6	21.7	21.1	13.9	45.5	28
Above average	35.7	41.3	36.8	52.8	36.4	54
Average or below	35.7	37.0	42.1	33.3	18.2	44
N	14	46	19	36	11	126

Without this interest and understanding, this form of education is, it seems, doomed to failure. This seems especially true for those teachers found in de facto segregated school systems who are attempting to educate a predominantly Negro student body. While it is a rather weak measure, a teacher's attendance at summer institutes devoted to the problems of teaching disadvantaged students might suggest how effective a teacher would be in providing a stimulating learning environment for those students most in need of help. Among the teachers in the present study, a large majority indicated that they had not attended such institutes (Tables 3.3.29 and 3.3.30). An encouraging finding was that the larger the proportion of Negro students in the schools the greater the likelihood that teachers in these schools had attended such an institute. This was true for both elementary and high schools. As can be seen from the evidence (Table 3.3.30), almost half of the high school teachers in schools having half or more Negro students had spent part of their summer in this manner.

Lastly, the employment status of a teacher may provide a partial measure of the commitment to teaching as a career. It is assumed that those with this kind of commitment and identification would most likely be the effective teachers. Such commitment and identification would seem to be crucial, furthermore, in improving the level of achievement and heightening the expectations of the disadvantaged, especially the Negro, youth. The results of the present study indicate that most of the teachers in the schools of Connecticut's five central cities have tenured positions (Tables 3.3.31 and 3.3.32). It is also true, however, that the racial composition of a school is important in understanding the proportion of teachers on the staff with tenured positions. In general, as the proportion of Negro students increases, there is a decrease in the proportion of tenured teachers. This relationship is found in both elementary and high schools.

The results of this rather cursory examination of the educational training and professional experience of the teachers in Connecticut's five central cities describe, in less extreme form, some of the trends that are found in major urban communities in the United States. In general, teachers in segregated Negro schools are less experienced and less likely to have the "credentials" that teachers in white schools have. In contrast to the situation that exists in the major urban centers, however, the predominantly Negro schools in Connecticut seem more likely to have relatively stable staffs that are interested in the problems of educating disadvantaged youth.

TABLE 3.3.29

ATTENDANCE AT SUMMER INSTITUTES IN TEACHING DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
No	80.5	57.1	72.7	63.6	65.2	79
Yes	19.5	42.9	27.3	36.4	34.7	32
N	41	14	22	11	23	111

TABLE 3.3.30

ATTENDANCE AT SUMMER INSTITUTES IN TEACHING DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
No	93.3	72.7	89.5	88.6	54.5	100
Yes	6.7	27.2	10.6	11.4	45.5	24
N	15	44	19	35	11	124

TABLE 3.3.31

EMPLOYMENT STATUS IN PRESENT SCHOOL SYSTEM FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Tenured	73.8	84.6	81.8	45.5	72.7	81
Non-tenured	26.2	15.4	18.2	54.5	27.3	29
N	42	13	22	11	22	110

TABLE 3.3.32

EMPLOYMENT STATUS IN PRESENT SCHOOL SYSTEM FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Tenured	80.0	82.2	84.2	82.9	63.6	101
Non-tenured	20.0	17.8	15.8	17.1	36.4	24
N	15	45	19	35	11	125

Teachers' Attitudes Toward Students, Their Careers and the School System

While the objective measures of a teacher's educational training and professional experience are important for the purpose of delineating some of the basic manifestations of de facto school segregation, the subjective attitudes and perceptions that teachers have of their students, their careers, and the school system are, it would seem, even more important to an understanding of the level of achievement, aspirations and expectations of pupils. These particular attitudes and perceptions are certainly of a more immediate significance since they act to "define the situation" and give meaning to the interactions between teachers and their pupils within the classroom. In the case of Negro students, these definitions are very significant since their contacts with the dominant white authority structure, "the establishment," are normally limited to those with white teachers. With the tremendous value attached to education today, Negro students are likely to respond to these definitions and the "labels" attached to them by such significant others. If this definition indicates to this group of students that they are inferior in ability and lacking in other requisites to educational success, then they are likely to respond with lowered levels of achievement and expectations. Obviously, stereotypical labelling of this sort by "legitimate" authority figures will be damaging to a student's self-image. One of the basic assumptions of the present investigation is that this is most likely to occur in predominantly Negro schools within a larger school system characterized by de facto segregation.

A number of measures were developed in the present study to describe these attitudes and perceptions. Favorable attitudes toward their school would be reflected, it was thought,in whether the teachers chose their present school and relatedly, if they would prefer to teach in another. The teachers were also questioned as to racial, social-class and ethnic composition of the student body they would most like to instruct. Moreover, they were asked to rank their present school in terms of its relative prestige and to describe the kinds of problems they associate with it. With regard to students, the major concern was to describe the teachers' perception of their ability and effort. Lastly, two measures of the degree of commitment to a professional career are used to indicate the identification that a teacher has with such a career in education. The relationships between these attitudinal measures and the racial composition of the school is examined below.

Teachers who chose to teach in a particular school, rather than being assigned to one in the larger system, are more likely to have positive attitudes toward that school, its teachers and its students. It is also likely that their students will receive higher grades and do well on standardized tests of academic achievement as well as having higher expectations relative to their educational and occupational futures. For the teachers in Connecticut's five central cities, it was found that most were assigned to their schools. Slightly more than one-third, however, chose the school in which they were teaching (Tables 3.3.33 and 3.3.34). It is a bit surprising that the racial composition of the school is not related to this act of selection. This is true in elementary schools as well as high schools.

With the relatively high rate of "horizontal mobility" found among teachers in the major cities of the United States it would not be surprising to find that those Connecticut teachers who were working in predominantly Negro schools would prefer to teach in another school. The findings of the present study indicate that a majority of the teachers questioned did not wish to teach in another school (Tables 3.3.35 and 3.3.36). As was expected, the racial composition of the school influenced this preference. In both grade schools and high schools, the preference toward teaching in another school was positively associated with the proportion of Negro pupils. It also seems that Negro students are more likely to have teachers who are uncertain in regard to their desires on this matter. The latter findings complement the former. In both instances, a lack of strong commitment to the present school setting is implied. It should be remembered, however, that in the predominantly Negro schools found in these five central cities, this desire to move to another school is to be interpreted within the context of the relatively low rate of teacher turnover in these schools.

Kenneth Clark [1965] and others [cf. Herriott and St. John, 1966], have commented that teachers in Negro schools are more likely to perceive their students as lacking in ability and as poorly motivated relative to the teachers who are working in predominantly white schools. As a result of this stereotypical "labelling," according to this view, it becomes much more difficult if not impossible for Negro students to receive high grades or to strive for high educational and occupational status. A test of such a conception is, of course, much beyond the purview of this chapter. The results do indicate, nevertheless, that teachers in predominantly Negro schools tend to rate their students lower in both ability and effort than teachers in predominantly white schools. This relationship is particularly striking when the teachers' perception of their students' ability is examined within elementary schools. A similar although less striking, relationship is found within high schools (Tables 3.3.37 and 3.3.38). The latter finding no doubt reflects the fact that high schools are less segregated than grade schools and have fewer students who are "incorrigible" and unable to adjust to the demands of teachers and other members of the staff. It seems likely that most of the incorrigibles would have dropped out of school either before or during the early high school years. When students are rated by teachers in terms of the students'efforts to succeed in relation to the proscriptions and prescriptions of the school the same general pattern is found.

TABLE 3.3.33

MANNER OF ASSIGNMENT TO PRESENT SCHOOL FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
By choice	34.1	28.6	36.4	18.2	34.8	36
Not by choice	65.9	71.4	63.6	81.8	65.2	75
N	41	14	22	11	23	111

TABLE 3.3.34

MANNER OF ASSIGNMENT TO PRESENT SCHOOL FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
By choice	53.3	37.8	21.1	36.1	45.5	47
Not by choice	46.7	62.2	78.9	63.9	54.5	79
N	15	45	19	36	11	126

TABLE 3.3.35

PREFERENCE FOR TEACHING IN ANOTHER SCHOOL FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Yes	14.6	16.7	25.0	27.3	25.0	23
Unsure	14.6	8.3	16.7	45.5	12.5	19
No	70.7	75.0	58.3	27.3	62.5	70
N	41	12	24	11	24	112

TABLE 3.3.36

PREFERENCE FOR TEACHING IN ANOTHER SCHOOL FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Yes	0.0	20.0	10.5	30.6	18.2	24
Unsure	20.0	15.6	10.5	19.4	54.5	25
No	80.0	64.4	78.9	50.0	27.3	77
N	15	45	19	36	11	126

TABLE 3.3.37

RATING OF ACADEMIC ABILITY OF STUDENTS IN PRESENT SCHOOL BY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Good or excellent	59.5	21.4	8.3	0.0	4.2	31
Average	38.1	42.9	33.3	18.2	25.0	38
Fair or poor	2.4	35.7	58.3	81.8	70.8	46
N	42	14	24	11	24	115

TABLE 3.3.38

RATING OF ACADEMIC ABILITY OF STUDENTS IN PRESENT SCHOOL BY SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Good or excellent	33.3	42.2	21.1	16.7	20.0	36
Average	60.0	46.7	63.2	63.9	50.0	70
Fair or poor	6.7	11.1	15.8	19.5	30.0	19
N	15	45	19	36	10	125

That is, teachers perceive students in predominantly Negro schools as being poorly motivated. Again, this is most pronounced in the elementary school (Tables 3.3.39 and 3.3.40). It seems, therefore, that Negro students are much more likely to be taught by teachers who rate their academic ability and motivation to succeed below that of white students.

The teachers in public school systems develop shared perceptions of the relative prestige of schools in the larger system. In Connecticut's five central cities, most of the teachers had a good idea of how their schools would be rated by others. As might be expected, few were considered among the best and most were seen as being above average or average. A sizable number of teachers, however, thought their schools were rated as below average or poor (Tables 3.3.41 and 3.3.42). The latter tend to be Negro schools. As Table 3.3.41 indicates, the proportion of grade school teachers who feel that their school is rated poorly increases dramatically with the ratio of Negro to white pupils. A similar relationship exists in high schools but the difference between schools with varying proportions of Negroes is not as great (Table 3.3.42).

The degree of commitment that a teacher has to a professional career might be expected to affect their relationships with students and, in turn, their students'achievements and expectations. This commitment is measured in two ways: (1) the number of teachers who plan to remain in teaching until retirement; and (2) the number who would reenter the teaching profession if they could again choose a career. Most of the teachers in the present study indicated that they would remain in teaching until retirement (Tables 3.3.43 and 3.3.44). This measure is only slightly related to the racial composition of the school. That is, as the proportion of Negroes in a school increases, there is only a slight tendency for the number of teachers who plan to remain in the profession to decline. A majority of the teachers also state that they would reenter the teaching profession if they had to make that choice again (Tables 3.3.45 and 3.3.46). It seems that predominantly Negro schools are only slightly more likely to have teachers who have doubts about whether or not they would reenter the profession. The dissatisfaction of teachers in Negro schools, therefore, concerning the ability and motivation of their students does not seem to dampen, in any very noticeable way at least,their commitment to the teaching profession. These findings are in line with those of Herriott and St. John [1966].

Even a cursory review of the literature on the subject would suggest that de facto school segregation would result in different problems being associated with schools of differing racial compositions. The teachers in the present study were questionned about the nature of the home environment of their students, if classes were too large, etc. Their answers are reported in the following tables (Tables 3.3.47 and 3.3.48).

TABLE 3.3.39

RATING OF EFFORT OF STUDENTS IN PRESENT SCHOOL BY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Good or excellent	57.1	21.4	29.2	9.1	12.5	38
Average	38.1	42.9	33.3	9.1	29.2	38
Fair or poor	4.8	35.7	37.5	81.8	58.3	39
N	42	14	24	11	24	115

TABLE 3.3.40

RATING OF EFFORT OF STUDENTS IN PRESENT SCHOOL BY SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Good or excellent	33.4	37.8	11.1	25.0	20.0	35
Average	40.0	48.9	55.6	47.2	50.0	60
Fair or poor	26.7	13.3	33.3	27.8	30.0	29
N	15	45	18	36	10	124

TABLE 3.3.41

REPUTATION OF PRESENT SCHOOL AMONG TEACHERS OUTSIDE SCHOOL FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Among best	26.8	15.4	19.0	10.0	11.8	20
Better than average	53.7	38.5	19.0	0.0	11.8	33
Average	12.2	46.2	19.0	0.0	5.9	16
Below average or poor	7.3	0.0	42.9	90.0	70.6	33
N	41	13	21	10	17	[illegible]02

TABLE 3.3.42

REPUTATION OF PRESENT SCHOOL AMONG TEACHERS OUTSIDE SCHOOL FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Among best	15.4	25.6	5.3	3.6	0.0	15
Better than average	61.5	39.5	31.6	42.8	50.0	46
Average	23.1	27.9	42.1	32.2	0.0	32
Below average or poor	0.0	2.3	21.1	21.4	50.0	16
N	13	43	19	28	6	109

TABLE 3.3.43

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WHO EXPECT TO REMAIN FULL-TIME IN PUBLIC EDUCATION UNTIL RETIREMENT WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Yes	45.2	50.0	37.5	10.0	33.3	44
Probably yes	40.5	28.6	54.2	80.0	58.3	56
Probably No	14.3	14.3	4.2	10.0	8.3	12
No	0.0	7.1	4.2	0.0	0.0	2
N	42	14	24	10	24	114

TABLE 3.3.44

SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WHO EXPECT TO REMAIN FULL-TIME IN PUBLIC EDUCATION UNTIL RETIREMENT WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	25-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Yes	60.0	56.5	52.6	42.9	36.4	64
Probably yes	26.7	30.4	36.8	34.3	45.5	42
Probably no	6.7	13.0	10.5	8.6	9.1	13
No	6.7	0.0	0.0	14.3	9.1	7
N	15	46	19	35	11	126

TABLE 3.3.45

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WHO WOULD REENTER THE TEACHING PROFESSION WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Yes	47.6	50.0	66.7	27.3	41.7	56
Probably yes	33.3	21.4	29.2	54.5	33.3	38
Undecided	7.1	0.0	0.0	9.1	0.0	4
Probably no	9.5	21.4	4.2	0.0	16.7	12
No	2.4	7.1	0.0	9.1	8.3	5
N	42	14	24	11	24	115

TABLE 3.3.46

SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WHO WOULD REENTER THE TEACHING PROFESSION WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Yes	53.3	46.7	52.6	38.9	36.4	57
Probably yes	33.3	26.7	21.1	33.3	27.3	36
Undecided	0.0	13.3	10.5	13.9	27.3	16
Probably no	0.0	11.1	5.3	13.9	9.1	12
No	13.3	2.2	10.5	0.0	0.0	5
N	15	45	19	36	11	126

TABLE 3.3.47

PROBLEMS OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL				
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Bad home environment	36.6 (41)*	85.7 (14)	82.6 (23)	100.0 (11)	95.8 (24)
Not well fed or clothed	14.6 (41)	50.0 (14)	29.2 (24)	81.8 (11)	62.5 (24)
Races don't get along	4.9 (41)	23.1 (13)	21.7 (23)	18.2 (11)	16.7 (24)
Parents interfere	27.5 (40)	15.4 (13)	4.2 (24)	36.4 (11)	20.8 (24)
Competition for grades	35.0 (40)	0.0 (13)	0.0 (24)	9.1 (11)	4.2 (23)
Emphasis on Athletics	0.0 (40)	7.1 (14)	0.0 (23)	9.1 (11)	8.3 (24)
Too many absences	15.0 (40)	50.0 (14)	52.2 (23)	54.5 (11)	70.8 (24)
Large classes	42.5 (40)	76.9 (13)	54.2 (24)	27.3 (11)	87.5 (24)
All one type student	20.5 (39)	23.1 (13)	17.4 (23)	22.2 (9)	34.8 (23)
Time on discipline	22.5 (40)	61.5 (13)	65.2 (23)	90.9 (11)	79.2 (24)
No interest in learning	30.8 (39)	46.2 (13)	40.9 (22)	44.4 (9)	70.8 (24)
Bad administration	15.8 (38)	25.0 (12)	33.3 (24)	20.0 (10)	25.0 (24)
Parental pressure	42.5 (40)	15.4 (13)	0.0 (24)	9.1 (11)	4.2 (24)
Teachers don't cooperate	5.0 (40)	7.7 (13)	4.2 (24)	9.1 (11)	12.5 (24)
Too little autonomy	37.5 (40)	30.8 (13)	20.8 (24)	18.2 (11)	20.8 (24)
Student turnover	2.5 (40)	30.8 (13)	8.3 (24)	18.2 (11)	62.5 (24)
Parental non-interest	30.0 (40)	78.6 (14)	60.9 (23)	72.7 (11)	87.5 (24)
Poor equipment	33.3 (39)	46.2 (13)	39.1 (23)	18.2 (11)	29.2 (24)
Interruptions	35.0 (40)	46.2 (13)	20.8 (24)	36.4 (11)	37.5 (24)
Teacher turnover	15.8 (38)	23.1 (13)	33.3 (24)	70.0 (10)	50.0 (24)
Administrative turnover	0.0 (39)	16.7 (12)	12.5 (24)	18.2 (11)	16.7 (24)

---

*Numbers in parentheses refer to the number of cases on which the percentages are based.

TABLE 3.3.48

PROBLEMS OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL				
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Bad home environment	33.3	59.1	89.5	93.9	100.0
	(15)*	(44)	(19)	(33)	(11)
Not well fed or clothed	13.3	13.3	47.4	35.3	27.3
	(15)	(45)	(19)	(34)	(11)
Races don't get along	6.7	6.7	5.3	23.5	27.3
	(15)	(45)	(19)	(34)	(11)
Parents interfere	20.0	13.3	10.5	11.8	10.0
	(15)	(45)	(19)	(34)	(10)
Competition for grades	20.0	31.1	5.3	26.5	22.2
	(15)	(45)	(19)	(34)	(9)
Emphasis on athletics	13.3	17.8	15.8	22.9	27.3
	(15)	(45)	(19)	(35)	(11)
Too many absences	40.0	62.2	84.2	97.1	90.9
	(15)	(45)	(19)	(35)	(11)
Large classes	86.7	55.6	47.4	77.1	54.5
	(15)	(45)	(19)	(35)	(11)
All one type student	0.0	2.3	10.5	8.8	0.0
	(15)	(43)	(19)	(34)	(10)
Time on discipline	20.0	17.8	26.3	58.8	90.0
	(15)	(45)	(19)	(34)	(10)
No interest in learning	50.0	51.1	57.9	76.5	80.0
	(14)	(45)	(19)	(34)	(10)
Bad administration	40.0	42.2	36.8	41.2	50.0
	(15)	(45)	(19)	(34)	(10)
Parental pressure	14.3	31.1	5.3	20.0	30.0
	(14)	(45)	(19)	(35)	(10)
Teachers don't cooperate	6.7	4.4	5.3	11.8	9.1
	(15)	(45)	(19)	(34)	(11)
Too little autonomy	26.7	33.3	36.8	29.4	36.4
	(15)	(45)	(19)	(34)	(11)
Student turnover	6.7	8.9	15.8	47.1	30.0
	(15)	(45)	(19)	(34)	(10)
Parental non-interest	53.3	61.4	78.9	85.7	77.8
	(15)	(44)	(19)	(35)	(9)
Poor equipment	46.7	42.2	42.1	20.6	27.3
	(15)	(45)	(19)	(34)	(11)
Interruptions	26.7	34.8	36.8	31.4	27.3
	(15)	(46)	(19)	(35)	(11)
Teacher turnover	40.0	15.6	47.4	54.3	81.8
	(15)	(45)	(19)	(35)	(11)
Administrative turnover	0.0	4.4	5.3	41.2	0.0
	(15)	(45)	(19)	(34)	(11)

---

*Numbers in parentheses refer to the number of cases on which the percentages are based.

The problems which are related to the racial composition of the schools are bad home environments of the students, undue absences, and excessive amount of time spent on discipline, a lack of adequate food and clothing for the students, large classes, a lack of student interest in learning, and an excessive turnover of both students and teachers. In each case these problems increase in significance, according to the teachers, as the ratio of Negro to white students increases. It is also clear that schools with large proportions of Negro students are considered to have many more (as well as peculiar) problems than schools which are predominantly white.

Lastly, it seemed likely that the teachers in Connecticut's five central cities would develop a preference for certain kinds of schools. They were asked, therefore, whether they preferred to teach in a certain type of school (i.e., college preparatory school, comprehensive high school, etc.) rather than another. Teachers were also questioned as to the ideal compo-sition of a school--in terms of the racial, social class and ethnic back-grounds of its students--in which they would like to teach. Finally, teachers commented upon the ability level of students which they consider ideal. A majority of the teachers chose a comprehensive high school as the ideal setting in which to teach (Tables 3.3.49 and 3.3.50). College preparatory schools ranked next in popularity. It seems that both elementary and high school teachers were equally likely to choose from these two types of schools. Elementary teachers were, however, more likely than those teaching at the high school level to choose special schools for disadvantaged students. This preference among elementary school teachers, moreover, increases with increasing proportions of Negro students in their schools (Table 3.3.49). The same preference is also apparent among high school teachers as the ratio of Negro to white students increases (Table 3.3.50).

In general, it seems that teachers do not wish to have students of the same social class, racial or ethnic background. In regard to the social class of students, most teachers seem to prefer a cross-section of the larger community or show no preference as to the social class back-grounds of their students (Tables 3.3.51 and 3.3.52). With regard to the racial composition of the school, teachers were likely to say that they had no preference for any particular kind of racial "mix." On the other hand, of those teachers who did state a preference, most favored schools which were mostly white (Tables 3.3.53 and 3.3.54). Less than a quarter of the teachers chose schools that were composed of half white and half Negro. It is rather interesting that among elementary school teachers, when the proportion of Negroes in the schools is increased, there is a concomitant decline in the choice of schools which were mostly white (Table 3.3.53). A similar pattern is found among high school teachers (Table 3.3.54) although it is less pronounced. Finally, it seems that teachers are even more likely to say they have no preference when it comes to the ethnic composition of their ideal school. A large majority of the teachers who do state a preference say that they want a mixture of ethnic groups (Tables 3.3.55 and 3.3.56).

TABLE 3.3.49

TYPE OF HIGH SCHOOL PREFERRED BY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
College preparatory	36.6	30.8	12.5	18.2	29.2	31
Comprehensive	58.5	38.5	66.7	63.6	33.3	60
Special for disadvantaged	2.4	23.1	16.7	18.2	33.3	18
Vocational or commercial	2.4	7.7	4.2	0.0	4.2	4
N	41	13	24	11	24	113

TABLE 3.3.50

TYPE OF HIGH SCHOOL PREFERRED BY SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
College preparatory	33.3	44.4	26.3	22.9	27.3	41
Comprehensive	60.0	53.3	57.9	62.9	54.5	72
Special for disadvantaged	0.0	0.0	5.3	8.6	18.2	6
Vocational or commercial	6.7	2.2	10.5	5.8	0.0	6
N	15	45	19	35	11	125

TABLE 3.3.51

SOCIAL CLASS COMPOSITION OF STUDENTS PREFERRED BY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Mostly white collar	5.0	7.1	0.0	0.0	8.4	5
Cross section	82.5	57.1	70.8	90.9	50.0	80
Mostly blue collar	5.0	14.3	4.2	0.0	12.5	8
No preference	7.5	21.4	25.0	9.1	29.2	20
N	40	14	24	11	24	113

TABLE 3.3.52

SOCIAL CLASS COMPOSITION OF STUDENTS PREFERRED BY SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Mostly white collar	0.0	15.2	21.1	5.6	18.2	15
Cross-section	66.7	69.6	73.7	75.0	63.6	90
Mostly blue-collar	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.6	0.0	2
No preference	33.3	15.2	5.3	13.9	18.2	20
N	15	46	19	36	11	127

TABLE 3.3.53

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF STUDENTS PREFERRED BY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Mostly white	41.0	50.0	12.5	27.3	16.7	33
Half and half	12.8	14.3	37.5	36.4	20.8	25
Mostly non-white	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	4.2	2
No preference	46.2	35.7	45.8	36.4	58.3	52
N	39	14	24	11	24	112

TABLE 3.3.54

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF STUDENTS PREFERRED BY SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Mostly white	40.0	56.6	42.1	27.8	27.3	53
Half and half	20.0	13.0	10.5	27.8	27.3	24
Mostly non-white	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
No preference	40.0	30.4	47.4	44.4	45.5	50
N	15	46	19	36	11	127

TABLE 3.3.55

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF STUDENTS PREFERRED BY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Anglo-Saxon	12.8	15.4	0.0	0.0	4.2	8
Mixture	56.4	30.8	50.0	54.5	33.3	52
Minority ethnic	0.0	15.4	0.0	0.0	4.2	3
No preference	30.8	38.5	50.0	45.5	58.3	48
N	39	13	24	11	24	111

TABLE 3.3.56

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF STUDENTS PREFERRED BY SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Anglo-Saxon	13.3	6.5	5.3	2.8	0.0	7
Mixture	26.7	45.7	42.1	36.1	54.5	52
Minority ethnic	6.7	0.0	0.0	2.8	0.0	2
No preference	53.3	47.8	52.6	58.3	45.5	66
N	15	46	19	36	11	127

Teachers seem to have stronger preferences for students of various ability levels, than they do for students from a certain social class, racial or ethnic background. It is evident from the data of the present investigation that very few teachers feel they have no preference as to the ability level of their pupils. Surprisingly, of those teachers who do choose a single ability level of students, more choose to have pupils of average or low ability than choose to have students of high ability (Tables 3.3.57 and 3.3.58). This choice of average students is more apparent in elementary schools than in high schools. Moreover, elementary school teachers show less interest in teaching students of considerable ability and more interest in teaching average or below average students as the proportion of Negro pupils in a school increases (Table 3.3.57). A similar pattern is visible in secondary schools although it is less convincing (Table 3.3.58).

Teacher Attitudes Toward School Integration

The integration of public schools can be conceived of as a process of social change. Many programs and proposals have been developed to implement this process. Some of these programs such as the "Princeton Plan" which involves the pairing of schools, or Project Concern which proposed the bussing of children from the Negro schools of the central city to the middle-class schools on the city's fringe and the suburbs are basically non-disruptive means of overcoming some of the negative consequences of de facto school segregation. Many members of both the Negro and white community feel that programs of this sort deal only with the symptoms of the basic structural problems facing major urban communities today. Other programs such as the attempt to decentralize control over school districts and to vest this control in local boards involve rather radical changes in the way power is distributed in the urban community. Where this is accomplished, the power of the local community over its schools is enhanced; while that of city-wide school administration is decreased. Since many of these local communities are overwhelmingly Negro, the exclusive power of the "white establishment" over the schools is lessened.

Teachers in public school systems are aware of these programs and proposals and develop attitudes and beliefs of a favorable or unfavorable nature toward them. They are, as well, representatives of the on-going system and may develop vested interests in attempting to maintain it. If this were the case, they may become an enemy for the many members of the white and Negro community who are trying to radically alter the social structure of the urban community and with it decrease the "social losses" which accrue from the de facto segregation of schools. In any case, the teachers in Connecticut's five central cities were asked their opinion on the following issues: (1) the retention of neighborhood schools;

TABLE 3.3.57

ABILITY LEVEL OF STUDENTS PREFERRED BY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
High ability	34.1	21.4	4.2	18.2	16.7	24
Average or low	39.0	14.3	45.8	36.4	45.8	44
Mixed ability	22.0	21.4	29.2	36.4	20.8	28
No preference	4.9	42.9	20.8	9.1	16.7	18
N	41	14	24	11	24	114

TABLE 3.3.58

ABILITY LEVEL OF STUDENTS PREFERRED BY SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
High ability	33.3	37.0	36.8	27.8	27.3	42
Average or low	26.7	43.4	31.6	33.3	36.4	46
Mixed ability	13.3	15.2	21.1	27.8	9.1	24
No preference	26.7	4.3	10.5	11.1	27.3	15
N	15	46	19	36	11	127

(2) the bussing of students; and (3) the ideal racial composition of faculties for schools of varying racial compositions of students. In general, teachers assume a relatively conservative stance on these issues. This conservatism is reflected, first of all, by the fact that roughly half the teachers in the present study favor the policy of retaining neighborhood schools. Since many of these are racially segregated elementary schools they are in fact favoring the maintenance of the status quo. Most of the others favored integrating the schools through the process of pairing or other non-disruptive means (Tables 3.3.59 and 3.3.60). Bussing of students, on the other hand, is favored only if the schools involved are overcrowded. The results (Tables 3.3.61 and 3.3.62) indicate that only a few teachers approve of the procedure which involves the bussing of non-whites only. In the current debate, this can be construed as a relatively liberal stand by these few teachers since it does involve an assumption about who the "real" problem children and districts are. However, less than twenty percent approve of the bussing of both white and Negro pupils as a technique for achieving integrated schools and thirty percent disapprove of bussing for any purpose whatsoever.

It is rather interesting that both elementary and high school teachers are very much in favor of compensatory programs for culturally disadvantaged children (Tables 3.3.63 and 3.3.64). Such approval shows little or no relation to the racial composition of the high school (Table 3.3.64), but it is slightly related to the ratio of Negro to white pupils in elementary school (Table 3.3.63). This support when considered in relation to the teachers' disapproval of the more radical programs of "forced" integration seems to indicate that the teachers in the schools of Connecticut's major cities approve of the basic structure of the educational establishment. That this structure might work to the disadvantage of the Negro is, seemingly, not considered. Teachers' efforts are as a result, directed at eliminating "symptoms" of problems rather than their basic "causes," which are found in the very structural relationships--involving of course, power coefficients--they tend to ignore.

When questioned about the ideal "racial mix" of the faculty for schools with varying proportions of Negro students, it was found that most teachers chose either to ignore race in the selection of faculties, to state no preference, or to prefer some rather vague mixture. There were some differences in preference, however, for different types of schools. For predominantly Negro schools, teachers were more likely to choose an evenly balanced faculty or one with a greater proportion of Negro teachers (Tables 3.3.65 and 3.3.66). In the case of racially mixed schools, some undefined mixture or a half and half mixture of Negro and white teachers was preferred (Tables 3.3.67 and 3.3.68). Schools with predominantly white students, on the other hand, were considered to be better staffed by predominantly white faculties. It is true, however, that the choice of a white faculty for predominantly white schools decreases with increases in the ratio of Negro to white pupils in the schools in which the teachers are presently employed (Tables 3.3.69 and 3.3.70).

TABLE 3.3.59

POLICY ON NEIGHBORHOOD ELEMENTARY SCHOOL FAVORED BY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Retain	50.0	50.0	47.8	45.5	56.5	56
Add pairing	47.5	42.9	43.5	54.5	39.1	50
Abandon	2.5	7.1	8.7	0.0	4.3	5
N	40	14	23	11	23	111

TABLE 3.3.60

POLICY ON NEIGHBORHOOD ELEMENTARY SCHOOL FAVORED BY SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Retain	40.0	43.5	61.1	55.6	54.5	63
Add pairing	53.3	45.7	27.8	38.9	36.4	52
Abandon	6.7	10.9	11.1	5.6	9.1	11
N	15	46	18	36	11	126

TABLE 3.3.61

POLICY ON BUSSING OF ELEMENTARY PUPILS FAVORED BY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Disapproves	26.3	23.1	13.0	36.4	31.8	27
Approves if overcrowded	44.7	53.8	56.5	45.5	50.0	53
Approves for non-whites	13.2	0.0	8.7	0.0	4.5	8
Approves	15.8	23.1	21.7	18.2	13.6	19
N	38	13	23	11	22	107

TABLE 3.3.62

POLICY ON BUSSING OF ELEMENTARY PUPILS FAVORED BY SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Disapproves	21.4	33.3	52.6	34.3	22.2	42
Approves if overcrowded	50.0	35.6	21.1	51.4	55.6	50
Approves for non-whites	0.0	6.7	15.8	2.9	0.0	7
Approves	28.6	24.4	10.5	11.4	22.2	23
N	14	45	19	35	9	122

TABLE 3.3.63

COMPENSATORY PROGRAMS FOR DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS FAVORED BY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Yes	77.5	57.1	65.2	81.8	69.6	79
Undecided	7.5	21.4	21.7	9.1	13.0	15
No	15.0	21.4	13.0	9.1	17.4	17
N	40	14	23	11	23	111

TABLE 3.3.64

COMPENSATORY PROGRAMS FOR DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS FAVORED BY SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Yes	80.0	66.7	68.4	61.1	63.6	84
Undecided	13.3	17.8	26.3	33.3	27.3	30
No	6.7	15.6	5.3	5.6	9.1	12
N	15	45	19	36	11	126

TABLE 3.3.65

TYPE OF FACULTY FOR NONWHITE SCHOOLS FAVORED BY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Mostly white	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
Half and half	17.1	38.5	20.8	10.0	26.1	24
Mostly non-white	7.3	0.0	4.2	10.0	8.6	7
No preference	14.6	30.8	4.2	0.0	17.4	15
Ignore race	22.0	15.4	33.3	30.0	13.0	25
Some mixture	39.0	15.4	37.5	50.0	34.8	40
N	41	13	24	10	23	111

TABLE 3.3.66

TYPE OF FACULTY FOR NONWHITE SCHOOLS FAVORED BY SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Mostly white	0.0	4.4	0.0	2.8	0.0	3
Half and half	6.7	13.3	21.1	8.3	18.2	16
Mostly non-white	40.0	11.1	5.3	13.9	0.0	17
No preference	6.7	8.9	15.8	5.6	0.0	10
Ignore race	13.3	40.0	42.1	44.4	45.5	49
Some mixture	33.3	22.2	15.8	25.0	36.4	31
N	15	45	19	36	11	126

TABLE 3.3.67

TYPE OF FACULTY FOR RACIALLY MIXED SCHOOLS FAVORED BY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Mostly white	2.5	7.1	4.2	0.0	0.0	3
Half and half	15.0	14.3	20.8	9.1	8.7	16
Mostly non-white	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
No preference	15.0	21.4	8.3	9.1	21.7	17
Ignore race	32.5	35.7	33.3	18.2	26.1	34
Some mixture	35.0	21.4	33.3	63.6	43.5	42
N	40	14	24	11	23	112

TABLE 3.3.68

TYPE OF FACULTY FOR RACIALLY MIXED SCHOOLS FAVORED BY SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Mostly white	6.7	6.7	0.0	2.8	0.0	5
Half and half	20.0	15.6	5.3	13.9	9.1	17
Most non-white	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
No preference	6.7	8.9	15.8	13.9	0.0	13
Ignore race	40.0	44.4	47.4	47.2	45.5	57
Some mixture	26.7	24.4	31.6	22.2	45.5	34
N	15	45	19	36	11	126

TABLE 3.3.69

TYPE OF FACULTY FOR WHITE SCHOOLS FAVORED BY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Mostly white	17.1	21.4	8.3	9.1	26.0	19
Half and half	7.3	14.3	16.7	0.0	4.3	10
Mostly non-white	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1
No preference	14.6	21.4	8.3	9.1	8.7	14
Ignore race	29.3	35.7	41.7	27.3	21.7	35
Some mixture	29.3	7.1	25.0	54.5	39.1	34
N	41	14	24	11	23	113

TABLE 3.3 70

TYPE OF FACULTY FOR WHITE SCHOOLS FAVORED BY SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL					
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Mostly white	33.3	26.1	5.3	19.4	9.1	26
Half and half	0.0	2.2	5.3	2.8	9.1	4
Mostly non-white	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
No preference	6.7	8.7	21.1	13.9	0.0	14
Ignore race	46.7	45.7	42.1	44.4	72.7	60
Some mixture	13.3	17.4	26.3	19.4	9.1	23
N	15	46	19	36	11	127

Discussion

The purpose of this chapter was to examine some of the characteristics of teachers which might be expected to affect the attitudes and behavior patterns of their students. The characteristics considered most important were their social origins, educational and professional experience, attitudes toward students and the school system, and their beliefs concerning the process of racially integrating the schools. The characteristics were examined in terms of their relationship to the racial composition of the schools in Connecticut's five central cities.

One general finding that stands out is the similarity between the schools in regard to the more "objective" characteristics of their teaching staffs. That is, schools of very different racial compositions seem very much alike in terms of the teachers social class backgrounds, their educational and professional experience, the quality of their academic work while at college, and their "provincialism." There is no evidence, in turn, that there is any plan developed within these urban school systems to discriminate against Negro students and the larger Negro community through the assignment of teachers who are socially different and with inferior "credentials" to Negro schools.

On the other hand, when the more "subjective" characteristics were examined, it was found that the attitudes of teachers toward their students, their school and to a certain extent their commitment to the teaching profession, does vary in a rather significant way with the racial composition of the school. The findings reveal that teachers come to rank their students progressively lower in academic ability and in their effort and motivation to do well in predominantly Negro schools. Their perceptions of their pupils as lacking in ability and as poorly motivated explain, in part at least, why these teachers expressed a preference to teach in another school. This disenchantment with the performance of their students may also be basic to understanding why these same teachers seem somewhat more likely to be less committed to the teaching profession than others. While these "subjective" characteristics may be understandable to some, they may, nevertheless, produce rather dire consequences for those students attending racially segregated schools. As was mentioned previously, if their teachers, as significant authority figures of the larger school system, "label" them, as a class, as lacking in the requisites of academic achievement, then these students would seem likely to perform in terms of their teachers' definitions.

Finally, it was found that teachers were likely to express "conservative" attitudes in regard to the various programs developed to integrate the public schools. The majority were inclined to favor compensatory programs for "disadvantaged youth" rather than any drastic alteration in the "educational establishment."

Chapter Four

EFFECTS OF DE FACTO SCHOOL SEGREGATION ON THE ACHIEVEMENT OF STUDENTS

The success of any educational system is usually judged in terms of the achievements of its graduates. Thus, grade schools may be considered successful if their pupils do well in high school, and high schools if their graduates go to college and/or obtain prestigious jobs. To assess how well a school is doing now, rather than how successful it was in the past, it is necessary to predict the probable future success of present students. Schools often rely on the scores of their students on standardized tests to measure this potential for achievement. In trying to locate which of their students are most likely to succeed, schools also take into consideration the grade average of each pupil and his academic standing in relation to the rest of his class.

Segregated schools, schools having large proportions of Negro students, are often considered to be unsuccessful in conveying to their pupils the necessary skills for future educational and occupational attainment. If schools with large nonwhite enrollments are actually harmful to the achievement potential of their pupils, students of both races in such schools would be expected to attain lower scores on standardized tests than students in other schools. The grade averages of these students might also be expected to be low if it can be assumed that teachers assign grades not only by comparing the students with one another but also by comparing their students with a theoretical model of how much a pupil must know to receive a given grade. Thus it would be possible for students in segregated schools to have lower grade averages than those in other schools.

Moreover, schools with large proportions of Negro pupils might be least successful in implanting in Negro students the requisite skills for future success. If this were the case, not only the test scores and grades but also the academic standing of Negro pupils would be lower in segregated schools than in integrated settings. School segregation might have a similar effect on students of both races who come from poorly educated or low status backgrounds. The differential effect of school segregation on particular classes of students will thus be investigated as well as the general effect of de facto segregation on all pupils.

In the present study, major emphasis is placed on students' scores on standardized tests of verbal ability as measures of their academic potential.[1] Such test scores are useful for this purpose in that students in different schools within the state can be compared on this basis. The scores of Connecticut students can also be considered in relation to those of pupils in other areas of the country. Moreover, these test scores are not affected by the conscious or unconscious errors of students completing questionnaires nor by the possible bias created by the nonresponse of the least articulate students.

The average letter grades received by students and the academic ranking in class of high school pupils are considered secondary measures of achievement potential. Although these measures indicate the combination of ability and effort which is often associated with actual achievement, they are most valid in predicting the possible success of individual students compared to others in their schools. They are less adequate in suggesting the potential for achievement of these students in comparison with all other students in the state or nation. Also, these indicators of achievement might be biased by accepting the students' responses as valid. Moreover, because they are mainly intramural measures of achievement, the differences between schools would seem to affect these measures only slightly. Therefore, these measures of potential will be most useful in examining the differential effects of school climate on particular categories of students.

Measurement of Achievement

The Henmon-Nelson tests of verbal ability were administered by the schools to all students in sixth and twelfth grades. For each pupil, the raw score on this test is supplemented by a score which indicates his position in regard to other individuals of the same age nationally. The raw score will be referred to as the Henmon-Nelson I. Q. Score and the assigned one as the Henmon-Nelson Percentile Score--the percentage of students who scored less well than the respondent. The distributions of both scores in schools of various racial compositions, and among students of different racial identifications, will be examined.

Grade averages were reported by the students to the nearest letter grade. Within categories of race, attributes of school climate, and individual background characteristics, mean grade averages are computed which are based on giving numerical equivalents to letter grades. Thus, a student with a B average would be assigned a 3, and the mean grade average for four students, two of whom have B averages and two of whom have C's, would be a 2.5. The academic standing in class of high school seniors is computed in terms of the percentage of fellow seniors who fall below the respondent, and will thus be referred to as percentile rank in class. A student who is ranked fifth in a class of 100 would then have a percentile rank of 95, etc.

---

[1] A logical and methodological justification for the use of verbal ability test scores to measure achievement is given in the Office of Education report [Coleman, et al., 1966:292-297].

Findings

Henmon-Nelson I.Q. and Percentile Scores

The effects of racial identification, school climate, and individual background characteristics will be examined initially on the major measures of achievement potential, I.Q. scores and the percentile scores which correspond to them.[2] As it has been suggested that segregated schools might not affect Negro and white pupils in the same way, the verbal ability scores of students are presented separately for each race. White students in both sixth and twelfth grades are shown to have substantially higher I.Q. scores than Negro pupils (Table 3.4.1) and to do much better in comparison with national averages for students of their age (Table 3.4.2). The appalling lack of verbal ability among Negroes cannot go unnoted. It is also evident that the discrepancy between Negro and white students in I.Q. increases from grade school to high school. Although it is risky to generalize about the effects of number of years of education using two different groups of students, evidence would suggest that the longer Negro students attend school, the further behind white students they fall in verbal ability.[3] Even before considering the effects of segregated schools on the achievement potential of Negroes, therefore, it seem evident that schools fail nonwhite students in not providing them with the skills necessary for success in adult life.[4]

---

[2] The influence of the previously mentioned variables on grade averages and academic standing in class will be considered in later sections of this chapter.

[3] This finding gains significance if it is assumed that more Negroes who are poor students have dropped out of school before twelfth grade than white students. The discrepancy between white and Negro pupils' verbal ability scores might be even larger if the drop-outs could have been considered.

[4] The Office of Education survey also found increasing differences between Negroes and whites with increases in the number of years pupils had been in school [Coleman, et al., 1966:273-275].

TABLE 3.4.1

HENMON-NELSON I.Q. SCORES FOR SIXTH AND TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS

(Percent)

	SIXTH GRADE			TWELFTH GRADE		
	White	Negro	N	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Under 80	5.5	16.8	257	1.7	11.3	50
80 - 89	12.3	28.4	477	11.5	42.9	255
90 - 99	21.2	28.9	606	33.7	34.5	531
100 - 109	29.4	19.8	621	29.3	10.5	415
More than 100	31.5	6.2	505	23.8	0.8	319
N	1393	1073	2466	1332	238	1570
Average Score	*102.3*	*91.3*		*104.5*	*89.0*	

TABLE 3.4.2

HENMON-NELSON PERCENTILE SCORES FOR SIXTH AND TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS

(Percent)

	SIXTH GRADE			TWELFTH GRADE		
	White	Negro	N	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
1 - 20	9.5	30.9	464	12.7	52.1	293
21 - 40	17.3	30.9	573	18.1	26.1	303
41 - 60	25.0	21.5	579	20.2	13.4	301
61 - 80	30.4	14.4	577	23.2	7.6	326
81 - 99	17.9	2.2	273	25.8	0.8	345
N	1393	1073	2466	1330	238	1568
Average Score	*57.1*	*35.8*		*58.3*	*25.3*	

De facto school segregation is presumed to be detrimental to students of all races. Therefore, the verbal ability scores of all pupils should be lower in schools with predominantly nonwhite enrollments than in other schools. The effect of various racial compositions of schools on the achievement potential of their pupils is examined separately for each race, however, because racial segregation in schools may affect each race differently and because of the previously demonstrated discrepancy between the average ability scores of Negro and white students. As expected, verbal ability scores decrease as the proportion of nonwhite students in school increases (Tables 3.4.3 and 3.4.4).[5] Although this relationship is evident for both races, it is surprisingly more evident among white students.[6] Thus, while the low scores of Negro pupils become even lower in segregated schools, the relatively high scores of whites decrease more dramatically with increases in the schools' nonwhite enrollment. Further support for these conclusions comes from an examination of the effect of racial segregation of schools on the percentile scores of pupils (Tables 3.4.5 and 3.4.6). Seemingly, therefore, segregated schools are detrimental to the development of academic skills for both races of pupils. The verbal ability scores of white pupils are substantially lower if they attend segregated schools. Negro pupils' scores are also affected by attending such schools, although this aspect of school climate does not seem to account fully for their lack of verbal ability. This investigation will attempt to identify the other factors which might help to explain this paucity of academic potential in the forthcoming.

One characteristic of individuals which is often said to explain differences in their bahavior is the social class position which they occupy. Students were assigned to social class positions based on the prestige of their fathers' occupations. The higher a student's social class position, the larger his achievement potential would be expected to be. If social class does affect ability in this way, and if more Negro students come from lower social classes than whites, the discrepancy between the scores of Negro and white pupils might be explained in terms of the differences in their class positions. In fact, however, social class seems to affect Negro and white students differently. White students followed the expected pattern and obtained higher verbal ability scores as their social positions increased in prestige (Tables 3.4.7 and 3.4.8).

---

[5] The larger influence of racial segregation of schools on the scores of grade school students may be at least partly explained by the greater separation of the races in the elementary grades.

[6] The nonlinearity of decreases among white high school seniors may be partially explained by the fact that the white students in the category of schools having more than half Negro pupils are predominantly Jewish. For documentation of the academic abilities of Jewish students, see Lesser, et al., [1965].

TABLE 3.4.3

HENMON-NELSON I.Q. SCORES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Under 80	3.3	5.4	4.7	10.0	26.8	77	15.2	13.8	21.2	10.3	19.5	180
80 - 89	10.7	12.1	15.0	15.0	12.2	172	27.3	26.6	24.4	31.9	28.2	305
90 - 99	16.8	25.6	25.7	19.3	22.0	296	36.4	34.0	24.4	31.1	27.7	310
100 - 109	31.6	27.6	27.7	31.4	17.1	409	12.1	18.1	21.8	22.0	18.8	212
More than 100	37.6	29.2	26.9	24.3	22.0	439	9.1	7.4	8.3	4.8	5.8	66
N	572	387	253	140	41	1393	33	94	156	273	517	1073
Average Score	*104.7*	*101.7*	*101.0*	*99.2*	*93.9*		*92.4*	*92.3*	*91.4*	*92.0*	*90.6*	

TABLE 3.4.4

HENMON-NELSON I.Q. SCORES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Under 80	2.4	1.5	1.4	2.2	0.0	23	0.0	10.3	8.0	13.8	10.8	27
80 - 89	12.2	8.5	10.6	15.2	17.9	153	100.0	38.5	42.0	40.4	51.4	102
90 - 99	31.1	33.7	31.5	37.6	25.6	449	0.0	43.6	42.0	29.4	32.4	82
100 - 109	30.5	30.4	31.5	26.1	23.1	390	0.0	7.7	8.0	14.7	5.4	25
Over 110	23.8	26.0	25.0	18.8	33.3	317	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0	2
N	164	481	292	356	39	1332	3	39	50	109	37	238
Average Score	*107.9*	*104.3*	*106.9*	*101.0*	*105.7*		*87.0*	*88.4*	*89.4*	*89.8*	*87.2*	

TABLE 3.4.5

HENMON-NELSON PERCENTILE SCORES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1 - 20	6.3	9.3	8.7	18.6	29.3	132	24.2	31.2	30.8	28.9	32.4	332
21 - 40	13.6	19.4	20.9	20.0	17.1	241	27.3	30.1	31.4	35.9	28.6	332
41 - 60	23.1	26.9	29.2	21.4	19.5	348	33.3	26.9	20.5	16.1	23.0	231
61 - 80	35.7	27.6	25.3	28.6	19.5	423	9.1	10.8	14.1	16.8	14.1	154
81 - 99	21.3	16.8	15.8	11.4	14.6	249	6.1	1.1	3.2	2.2	1.9	24
N	572	387	253	140	41	1393	33	93	156	273	518	1073
Average Score	*61.8*	*55.6*	*54.8*	*50.1*	*44.5*		*39.9*	*35.1*	*36.2*	*35.9*	*35.4*	

TABLE 3.4.6

HENMON-NELSON PERCENTILE SCORES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1 - 20	11.7	11.0	11.6	16.6	10.3	169	100.0	53.8	42.0	52.3	59.5	124
21 - 40	15.3	17.5	17.8	20.2	20.5	241	0.0	23.1	40.0	22.0	24.3	62
41 - 60	23.3	19.4	18.2	21.9	17.9	269	0.0	15.4	12.0	14.7	10.8	32
61 - 80	23.3	23.7	25.3	21.1	17.9	308	0.0	7.7	6.0	9.2	5.4	18
81 - 99	26.4	28.3	27.1	20.2	33.3	343	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0	2
N	163	480	292	356	39	1330	3	39	50	109	37	238
Average Score	*60.2*	*59.5*	*61.0*	*53.6*	*59.6*		*13.3*	*24.6*	*26.0*	*26.7*	*21.6*	

TABLE 3.4.7

HENMON-NELSON I.Q. SCORES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	Profes-sional*	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Under 80	0.0	0.7	5.4	6.0	5.0	46	20.0	8.3	15.4	10.6	9.0	70
80 - 89	5.3	7.0	10.2	14.8	14.3	125	16.0	19.4	21.4	24.7	33.8	157
90 - 99	12.6	18.2	18.0	23.4	23.6	223	32.0	30.6	29.1	36.3	29.0	201
100 - 109	32.1	31.5	31.5	29.3	28.6	348	20.0	25.0	29.1	19.9	22.8	139
Over 110	50.0	42.7	34.9	26.5	28.6	398	12.0	16.7	5.1	8.6	5.5	48
N	190	143	295	351	161	1140	25	36	117	292	145	615
Average Score	*109.4*	*106.8*	*103.2*	*100.8*	*101.4*		*93.2*	*96.6*	*93.1*	*93.6*	*92.5*	

*Professional includes all professional and managerial positions
Clerical includes all clerical and sales positions
Skilled includes all the trades and technical positions
Semi-skilled includes all the operative positions
Unskilled includes laborers, farm and non-farm

TABLE 3.4.8

HENMON-NELSON I.Q. SCORES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Under 80	0.3	0.7	1.7	2.2	1.9	14	4.2	0.0	15.0	6.1	15.8	17
80 - 89	6.4	9.3	11.7	15.9	12.4	123	54.2	23.1	42.5	45.5	39.5	78
90 - 99	21.9	32.7	41.3	38.9	45.7	394	16.7	53.8	27.5	36.4	44.7	63
100 - 109	31.4	34.7	28.0	28.8	21.9	346	16.7	23.1	15.0	12.1	0.0	21
Over 110	39.9	22.7	17.3	14.2	18.1	292	8.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2
N	388	150	300	226	105	1169	24	13	40	66	38	181
Average Score	*109.9*	*102.8*	*103.9*	*99.2*	*108.8*		*93.3*	*92.7*	*89.0*	*90.2*	*86.4*	

The I.Q. scores of Negro pupils were much less affected by their fathers' occupational positions; Negro grade school pupils' scores do not seem to be affected at all by their positions. An examination of percentile scores corroborates these findings (Tables 3.4.9 and 3.4.10). Thus, social class position is a relatively efficient predictor of the verbal ability of white students. It does not, however, explain the differences between Negro and white verbal ability scores.

The amount of education an individual has received is usually considered a relatively reliable indicator of his verbal ability.[7] Although it is probably less valid to predict an individual's ability by the education of his parents, the educational attainments of the parents of students would be expected to be positively correlated with the academic potential of their children. The verbal ability scores of grade and high school students would thus be expected to increase with the amount of education received by their fathers. Assuming that most fathers of Negro pupils received less education than fathers of white students, this educational differential might help to explain the discrepancy between scores of Negro and white pupils. As with fathers' occupational position, however, fathers' education is more highly related to the achievement scores of white students than of Negroes (Tables 3.4.11 and 3.4.12). In both grade schools and high schools, fathers' education explains more of the variation in scores among whites then among Negroes, although fathers' education and students' ability scores are positively related for most pupils.[8] This pattern is confirmed through an examination of percentile scores (Tables 3.4.13 and 3.4.14). While it can be said, therefore, that a small part of the difference between Negro and white pupils' verbal ability may be explained by the educational attainments of their families, this variable does not account for the major part of the difference between the races.

Aspects of the climate of a school other than its racial composition might also be expected to influence the acquisition by students of the skills needed for a successful adult life. An affluent school climate, in terms of the proportion of fellow students having elevated social class positions or good educational backgrounds, could increase the learning potential of all students in the school, even of students who themselves have poor backgrounds. Evidence was presented in the Office of Education

---

[7] However, this notion does not receive support from an examination of earlier findings that Negro twelfth graders had lower ability scores than Negro sixth graders.

[8] An interesting exception to this pattern is provided by Negro sixth grade students whose fathers received more than high school educations. These pupils are likely to have lower ability scores than the children of high school graduate fathers. This may be due to the small number of Negro pupils in this category, or may be a misunderstanding on the part of grade school pupils of their fathers' level of schooling.

TABLE 3.4.9

HENMON-NELSON PERCENTILE SCORES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	Profes- sional	Cleri- cal	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	N	Profes- sional	Cleri- cal	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1 - 20	0.5	3.5	9.8	10.5	10.6	89	28.0	25.0	23.1	24.3	27.6	154
21 - 40	10.5	14.0	12.5	19.1	19.3	175	20.0	30.6	35.0	31.8	33.8	199
41 - 60	20.5	19.6	27.1	27.9	21.7	280	36.0	13.9	20.5	25.0	20.0	140
61 - 80	35.3	35.0	33.2	29.1	35.4	374	8.0	30.6	17.9	15.1	17.2	103
81 - 99	33.2	28.0	17.3	13.4	13.0	222	8.0	0.0	3.4	3.8	1.4	19
N	190	143	295	351	161	1140	25	36	117	292	145	615
Average Score	*69.2*	*64.7*	*58.4*	*54.4*	*55.9*		*39.8*	*40.9*	*39.4*	*39.4*	*37.4*	

TABLE 3.4.10

HENMON-NELSON PERCENTILE SCORES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					FATHER'S OCCUPATION	NEGRO PUPILS					
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1 - 20	6.5	10.1	13.3	16.8	13.3	132	58.3	30.8	52.5	47.0	55.3	91
21 - 40	11.9	20.1	18.7	22.6	28.6	213	12.5	38.5	20.0	33.3	26.3	48
41 - 60	14.2	16.1	25.3	23.5	18.1	227	8.3	30.8	17.5	7.6	18.4	25
61 - 80	24.8	27.5	24.0	21.7	21.0	280	12.5	0.0	10.0	12.1	0.0	15
81 - 99	42.6	26.2	18.7	15.5	19.0	315	8.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2
N	387	149	300	226	105	1167	24	13	40	66	38	181
Average Score	*69.0*	*58.0*	*56.6*	*51.8*	*54.3*		*32.2*	*32.0*	*26.4*	*27.1*	*19.9*	

77

TABLE 3.4.11

HENMON-NELSON I.Q. SCORES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Under 80	6.6	3.5	2.9	41	18.5	10.6	13.2	76
80 - 89	15.8	10.2	4.1	100	28.0	26.7	27.9	153
90 - 99	23.4	18.3	12.3	178	28.6	32.2	29.4	170
100 - 109	28.9	32.2	29.6	299	19.6	21.6	22.8	119
Over 110	25.3	35.7	51.0	357	5.4	9.0	6.6	41
N	273	459	243	975	168	255	136	559
Average Score	*99.9*	*104.1*	*109.5*		*90.3*	*94.0*	*92.3*	

6

TABLE 3.4.12

HENMON-NELSON I.Q. SCORES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Under 80	1.2	2.2	0.8	16	14.2	7.3	0.0	19
80 - 89	14.0	10.0	5.3	124	38.7	41.8	41.4	76
90 - 99	41.9	30.0	23.7	401	36.8	43.6	27.6	71
100 - 109	27.6	33.1	30.9	364	10.4	7.3	24.1	22
Over 110	15.3	24.7	39.2	305	0.0	0.0	6.9	2
N	515	320	375	1210	106	55	29	190
Average Score	*100.9*	*105.3*	*109.0*		*87.9*	*89.3*	*93.1*	

TABLE 3.4.13

HENMON-NELSON PERCENTILE SCORES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
1 - 20	11.4	7.2	4.1	74	34.1	23.1	32.1	160
21 - 40	18.3	15.9	7.4	141	23.4	31.8	29.2	160
41 - 60	27.8	24.0	18.5	231	25.1	22.7	24.8	134
61 - 80	27.5	34.2	35.4	318	16.8	18.8	11.7	92
81 - 99	15.0	18.7	34.6	211	0.6	3.5	2.2	13
N	273	459	243	975	167	255	137	559
Average Score	*54.4*	*59.6*	*69.2*		*35.9*	*40.3*	*35.5*	

TABLE 3.4.14

HENMON-NELSON PERCENTILE SCORES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
1 - 20	14.8	11.0	5.3	131	50.9	47.3	44.8	93
21 - 40	22.5	15.7	12.8	214	26.4	36.4	13.8	52
41 - 60	24.3	19.2	15.2	243	13.2	10.9	20.7	26
61 - 80	21.6	27.0	24.8	290	9.4	5.5	13.8	17
81 - 99	16.9	27.0	41.9	330	0.0	0.0	6.9	2
N	515	318	375	1208	106	55	29	190
Average Score	*51.5*	*59.9*	*67.2*		*23.4*	*25.7*	*31.5*	

survey [Coleman, et al., 1966:302-310] that supported the influence of these characteristics of fellow students on the achievement of individual pupils, especially on the ability scores of nonwhites. The survey also detailed the relationship between the racial composition of schools and the affluence of their student bodies [Coleman, et al., 1966:305-307]. Negro pupils, therefore, tend to go to schools in which their fellow students are not affluent. Part of the difference between the ability scores of white and Negro pupils in the present investigation might be explained, then, by the lack of affluence of their fellow students in the schools attend by Negroes.

If the level of cultural affluence of fellow students does affect the achievement potential of individual pupils, verbal ability scores of these pupils should be lowest in schools in which students are least affluent. Cultural affluence is measured, it will be remembered, by the number of encyclopedias in the homes.[9] Indeed, this relationship is evident in the data from the present study (Tables 3.4.15 and 3.4.16). Increases in the percentage of fellow students having encyclopedias, however, are accompanied by greater increases in the ability scores of white pupils than of Negro pupils. This pattern also is evident in examining percentile scores (Tables 3.4.17 and 3.4.18). Even acknowledging the preponderance of Negro pupils in the least affluent schools, then, these findings do not sufficiently account for the discrepancy between Negro and white ability scores. Although the evidence does confirm the influence of the cultured affluence of fellow students on the achievement potential of their classmates,[10] it does not confirm the conclusion of the Office of Education survey [Coleman, et al., 1966:302-312] that characteristics of the student body influence the achievement of Negroes more than of whites.[11]

---

[9] The choice of this measure of affluence is explained in Chapter Two.

[10] It is difficult if not impossible to separate the effects of racial composition of schools from those of affluence of fellow students. Each variable has a similar effect on student achievement, and the two are strongly related to one another.

[11] It is suggested that this seeming contradiction is due to the methods used by the two surveys. The present study presents percentages within categories of student body affluence to assess the immediate effect of it on students' achievement. The Office of Education survey determined the amount of the variation in achievement scores of pupils which could be accounted for by student body characteristics. Perhaps because social class and educational background factors explain less of the variation in Negro pupils' achievement scores, more variation was left of which student body characteristics could then explain a larger part.

TABLE 3.4.15

HENMON-NELSON I.Q. SCORES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS											
	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-83	83-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Under 80	12.0	7.3	10.0	3.5	1.2	77	22.2	15.7	14.8	17.5	10.5	180
80 - 89	16.7	13.4	16.5	10.5	9.3	172	32.7	27.0	29.5	26.3	20.0	305
90 - 99	24.5	25.6	23.9	22.5	15.2	296	26.7	30.3	28.9	26.3	33.7	310
100 - 109	28.6	26.2	28.3	32.0	29.0	409	13.9	21.3	20.8	21.1	26.3	212
Over 110	18.2	27.4	21.3	31.5	45.2	439	4.5	5.7	6.0	8.8	9.5	66
N	192	164	230	400	407	1393	266	300	298	114	95	1073
Average Score	*96.9*	*100.5*	*98.5*	*103.1*	*107.0*		*88.4*	*91.5*	*91.8*	*92.6*	*95.2*	

TABLE 3.4.16

HENMON-NELSON I.Q. SCORES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS									
	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Under 80	2.5	1.0	1.7	2.2	23	14.3	9.1	10.1	10.0	27
80 - 89	17.1	13.8	10.2	5.7	153	45.2	49.1	36.0	50.0	102
90 - 99	36.2	38.4	31.3	29.1	449	29.8	29.1	41.6	40.0	82
100 - 109	22.6	30.6	29.2	33.0	390	9.5	12.7	11.2	0.0	25
Over 110	21.6	16.1	27.6	30.0	317	1.2	0.0	1.1	0.0	2
N	199	385	521	227	1332	84	55	89	10	238
Average Score	*101.1*	*102.3*	*106.5*	*106.6*		*88.0*	*88.9*	*90.3*	*87.1*	

TABLE 3.4.17

HENMON-NELSON PERCENTILE SCORES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS											
	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1 - 20	18.2	11.6	14.3	6.0	5.2	132	41.0	30.4	28.2	24.1	21.1	332
21 - 40	21.4	20.7	21.3	17.0	12.0	241	30.5	30.8	31.9	31.9	28.4	332
41 - 60	29.2	24.4	28.3	23.0	23.3	348	16.5	22.4	19.8	27.6	30.5	231
61 - 80	21.4	29.9	24.3	37.7	31.0	423	10.2	15.4	17.1	12.1	16.8	154
81 - 99	9.9	13.4	11.7	16.2	28.5	249	1.9	1.0	3.0	4.3	3.2	25
N	192	164	230	400	407	1393	266	299	298	116	95	1074
Average Score	*48.3*	*52.9*	*50.5*	*59.5*	*64.4*		*30.6*	*35.4*	*37.8*	*39.1*	*41.0*	

TABLE 3.4.18

HENMON-NELSON PERCENTILE SCORES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS									
	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1 - 20	15.1	14.6	12.7	7.5	169	56.0	50.9	48.3	60.0	124
21 - 40	22.1	19.5	17.3	14.2	241	23.8	32.7	25.8	10.0	62
41 - 60	22.6	24.0	16.5	20.4	269	11.9	10.9	14.6	30.0	32
61 - 80	17.1	25.0	23.2	25.2	308	7.1	5.5	10.1	0.0	18
81 - 99	23.1	16.9	30.3	32.7	343	1.2	0.0	1.1	0.0	2
N	199	384	521	226	1330	84	55	89	10	238
Average Score	*54.4*	*53.3*	*61.0*	*63.9*		*24.0*	*23.7*	*27.7*	*22.9*	

None of the variables which have been discussed explain as much of the variation in verbal ability scores among Negroes as they do among whites. Also, none of these variables alone seems to sufficiently account for the discrepancy between the average achievement scores of white and Negro students. It is possible, however, that some combination of these variables might help to account for this discrepancy. Several combinations will thus be examined to attempt to test this suggestion.

It seems likely, for example, that Negro pupils of low social class in predominantly Negro schools would have lower ability scores than those in predominantly white schools whose fathers have prestigious occupations. If this is true, and if most Negro pupils belong to the lower classes and attend predominantly Negro schools while whites are middle or upper class and attend predominantly white schools, then the poor verbal ability scores of Negroes might be based on a combination of social class and racial composition of the school. Some evidence to support this contention appears in the present study (Tables 3.4.19 and 3.4.20). Indeed, Negro pupils are concentrated in schools having large proportions of nonwhite students,[12] and are more likely than whites to have fathers with blue-collar jobs.[13] The lowest I.Q. scores are found among Negroes in predominantly nonwhite schools whose fathers have low status occupations. The differences in verbal ability among Negro pupils, however, is not large enough to suggest that the combined factors of social class and racial segregation in schools account for the dismal scores of these pupils in comparison with white students. The differences among white students which are related to their social class standing and the racial composition of the schools they attend are greater than the variations among Negroes related to the same factors. Also, the average scores of low status white pupils in predominantly Negro schools are often higher than the scores of high status Negro pupils in white schools.[14] These findings are corroborated by the evidence concerning the percentile scores (Tables 3.4.21 and 3.4.22). Thus the differential effects of racial composition of schools and fathers' occupation do not account for any substantial part of the difference between the verbal ability scores of Negro and white pupils.

A combination of the effects of the racial segregation of schools and the educational background of students may also help to specify the effects of each on the verbal ability of students and to locate which students are least likely to have acquired the verbal skills which would lead to future achievement. Also, if the I.Q. scores of Negro pupils are lowest when they have poorly educated fathers and attend schools with large proportions of nonwhite students then some of the discrepancy between Negro and white pupils may be explained by a combination of these two variables.

---

[12] This is especially true for grade school students.

[13] Blue collar occupations are those in the unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled categories.

[14] This is especially true of high school seniors.

TABLE 3.4.19

AVERAGE HENMON-NELSON I.Q. SCORES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Professional	*111.0*	*104.3*	*110.9*	*105.4*	*105.7*	*100.0*	*92.5*	*102.8*	*82.0*	*87.3*
	(124)	(34)	(19)	(10)	(3)	(3)	(2)	(7)	(2)	(11)
Clerical	*108.5*	*103.6*	*105.3*	*107.3*	*122.0*	*98.0*	*97.1*	*97.0*	*93.4*	*97.6*
	(68)	(32)	(27)	(15)	(1)	(2)	(7)	(1)	(8)	(18)
Skilled	*105.3*	*103.5*	*101.2*	*101.1*	*93.9*	*93.2*	*96.4*	*90.4*	*93.7*	*92.9*
	(109)	(92)	(58)	(27)	(9)	(4)	(10)	(15)	(27)	(62)
Semi-skilled	*101.6*	*101.4*	*100.3*	*100.4*	*90.3*	*89.8*	*93.8*	*92.2*	*94.2*	*94.2*
	(119)	(113)	(71)	(38)	(10)	(10)	(24)	(58)	(107)	(93)
Unskilled	*101.0*	*105.9*	*99.0*	*99.5*	*92.3*	*102.5*	*94.7*	*94.7*	*93.7*	*90.8*
	(77)	(35)	(29)	(17)	(3)	(2)	(14)	(15)	(36)	(78)

TABLE 3.4.20

AVERAGE HENMON-NELSON I.Q. SCORES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Professional	105.6	109.9	112.9	109.0	112.0	---	88.8	89.0	98.2	86.0
	(29)	(201)	(61)	(89)	(8)	(0)	(6)	(4)	(12)	(2)
Clerical	106.0	104.3	103.3	100.0	96.7	---	91.7	94.0	92.0	---
	(21)	(46)	(32)	(48)	(3)	(0)	(3)	(5)	(5)	(0)
Skilled	120.1	101.5	101.0	98.2	114.0	---	81.5	90.2	89.8	91.8
	(47)	(101)	(62)	(79)	(11)	(0)	(6)	(11)	(16)	(7)
Semi-skilled	100.3	97.8	101.3	97.8	101.4	88.0	94.6	89.8	88.9	91.6
	(28)	(58)	(63)	(72)	(5)	(1)	(10)	(10)	(37)	(8)
Unskilled	106.4	101.0	129.8	96.1	99.0	---	85.9	86.6	87.0	85.8
	(18)	(27)	(30)	(27)	(4)	(0)	(8)	(9)	(12)	(9)

TABLE 3.4.21

AVERAGE HENMON-NELSON PERCENTILE SCORES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Professional	72.1 (124)	60.3 (34)	70.2 (19)	62.3 (10)	68.3 (3)	52.7 (3)	33.0 (2)	53.8 (7)	12.5 (2)	33.4 (11)
Clerical	69.2 (68)	59.0 (32)	62.4 (27)	59.5 (15)	90.0 (1)	52.0 (2)	45.6 (7)	28.0 (1)	39.0 (8)	39.4 (18)
Skilled	61.9 (109)	59.4 (92)	55.6 (58)	53.3 (27)	39.7 (9)	43.8 (4)	42.6 (10)	33.2 (15)	40.7 (27)	39.5 (62)
Semi-skilled	56.4 (119)	54.1 (113)	54.1 (71)	53.1 (38)	42.0 (10)	36.0 (10)	35.9 (24)	37.4 (58)	39.6 (107)	41.7 (93)
Unskilled	56.2 (77)	64.7 (35)	49.8 (29)	49.2 (17)	45.3 (3)	66.0 (2)	37.7 (14)	39.7 (15)	40.2 (36)	34.9 (78)

TABLE 3.4.22

AVERAGE HENMON-NELSON PERCENTILE SCORES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Professional	*63.6*	*70.3*	*72.4*	*65.4*	*69.6*	---	*21.5*	*22.2*	*44.1*	*13.0*
	(29)	(200)	(61)	(89)	(8)	(0)	(6)	(4)	(12)	(2)
Clerical	*63.4*	*62.0*	*60.0*	*51.5*	*45.0*	---	*22.7*	*37.8*	*31.8*	---
	(20)	(46)	(32)	(48)	(3)	(0)	(3)	(5)	(5)	(0)
Skilled	*66.4*	*55.0*	*52.7*	*54.0*	*70.6*	---	*15.7*	*29.3*	*27.1*	*29.3*
	(47)	(101)	(62)	(79)	(11)	(0)	(6)	(11)	(16)	(7)
Semi-skilled	*50.1*	*47.0*	*62.0*	*47.5*	*51.8*	*14.0*	*38.2*	*28.4*	*23.5*	*29.9*
	(28)	(58)	(63)	(72)	(5)	(1)	(10)	(10)	(37)	(8)
Unskilled	*63.8*	*48.3*	*67.1*	*39.9*	*52.5*	---	*18.6*	*17.7*	*21.5*	*21.1*
	(18)	(27)	(30)	(27)	(4)	(0)	(8)	(9)	(12)	(9)

The data do not support this contention, however (Tables 3.4.23 and 3.4.24). The lowest I.Q. scores of Negro sixth graders are found among children of poorly educated fathers in predominantly white schools. The verbal ability scores of these students increase with the percentage of nonwhites in their schools. For all other students of both races, however, increases proportions of Negro pupils in a school and poorly educated fathers combine to depress their achievement scores. This pattern is repeated in the relationship of racial segregation and educational background to the percentile scores of pupils (Tables 3.4.25 and 3.4.26). Thus, although a knowledge of both a student's educational background and the racial composition of his school aids in specifying his probable ability score, knowledge of the effects of combining these factors does not explain much of the discrepancy between Negroes and whites.[15] Again, the average verbal scores for white students of poorly educated fathers in racially segregated schools are often higher than those of Negro children of well educated parents who attend predominantly white schools.[16]

Grade Averages

Another indicator of the achievement of students are the grades they receive in grade and high school. Grades are considered to be a result of both the ability and the effort that students put into academic pursuits. Thus, in one way, grades should be better predictors of future academic success than ability scores alone. However, grades are subject to the prejudices of the teachers who assign them. Their use would also seem limited to comparing how students are performing relative to other students in their classes rather than in comparison with all other students in the state or nation. Even with these qualifications,[17] the grade averages of students should provide some indication of the extent to which they have learned the skills necessary for future success.

The grade averages of students would be expected to bear some relationship to their ability scores. It would be expected, therefore, that the grade averages of white students would be somewhat higher than those of Negro pupils.

---

[15] The effects of racial composition of the school and proportion of fellow students having encyclopedias are not combined because these two variables are so strongly related to one another, tau c = .378 for grade schools and .409 for high schools.

[16] This is especially true of high school seniors.

[17] The grade averages used in this investigation are subject to two other qualifications. First, they are the averages reported by the students and are, thus, possibly biased by untruthful responses or by nonresponse. Second, the fact that these averages were reported to the nearest letter grade greatly limits the range of variation among students.

TABLE 3.4.23

AVERAGE HENMON-NELSON I.Q. SCORES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Less than High School	*101.0*	*101.5*	*98.8*	*97.1*	*89.4*	*82.4*	*89.9*	*89.5*	*90.2*	*91.3*
	(105)	(70)	(57)	(34)	(7)	(5)	(18)	(23)	(42)	(80)
High School graduate	*105.0*	*103.5*	*104.5*	*103.3*	*96.5*	*98.5*	*94.0*	*94.0*	*94.7*	*93.2*
	(197)	(125)	(77)	(49)	(11)	(8)	(22)	(45)	(69)	(112)
More than High School	*112.3*	*106.1*	*106.7*	*102.2*	*82.5*	*95.8*	*96.8*	*92.8*	*92.6*	*90.8*
	(144)	(50)	(34)	(13)	(2)	(5)	(11)	(20)	(44)	(56)

TABLE 3.4.24

AVERAGE HENMON-NELSON I.Q. SCORES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Less than High School	*112.2*	*99.4*	*101.8*	*98.3*	*100.8*	---	*90.2*	*89.5*	*87.2*	*87.8*
	(75)	(139)	(142)	(147)	(13)	(0)	(17)	(30)	(49)	(10)
High School graduate	*105.3*	*103.2*	*122.4*	*101.1*	*109.6*	---	*87.4*	*89.6*	*90.4*	*88.1*
	(56)	(114)	(50)	(86)	(14)	(0)	(11)	(9)	(27)	(8)
More than High School	*108.8*	*110.1*	*112.0*	*107.7*	*108.3*	*88.0*	*97.0*	*88.2*	*100.2*	*90.1*
	(21)	(193)	(62)	(92)	(7)	(1)	(2)	(4)	(15)	(7)

TABLE 3.4.25

AVERAGE HENMON-NELSON PERCENTILE SCORES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Less than High School	57.2	57.0	51.9	47.9	36.8	27.6	36.5	33.2	32.3	39.1
	(105)	(70)	(57)	(34)	(7)	(5)	(17)	(23)	(42)	(80)
High School graduate	61.7	58.1	59.8	57.4	48.4	52.8	37.0	38.6	42.6	39.4
	(197)	(125)	(77)	(49)	(11)	(8)	(22)	(45)	(69)	(112)
More than High School	74.5	62.0	64.8	55.8	30.5	45.6	44.9	35.8	34.6	33.4
	(144)	(50)	(34)	(13)	(2)	(5)	(11)	(20)	(44)	(57)

TABLE 3.4.26

AVERAGE HENMON-NELSON PERCENTILE SCORES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Less than High School	58.6	50.2	57.9	47.7	52.6	---	28.2	27.9	21.8	24.3
	(75)	(139)	(142)	(147)	(13)	(0)	(17)	(30)	(49)	(10)
High School graduate	63.9	58.8	70.2	58.8	68.3	---	20.6	24.8	28.4	21.8
	(55)	(113)	(50)	(86)	(14)	(0)	(11)	(9)	(27)	(8)
More than High School	70.4	70.0	71.4	63.4	67.6	14.0	42.5	21.8	48.7	23.6
	(21)	(193)	(62)	(92)	(7)	(1)	(2)	(4)	(15)	(7)

This contention is supported for both grade school and high school students (Table 3.4.27). The difference between Negro and white students' grades does not seem as dramatic as the discrepancy in their ability scores, however. The relatively narrow gap between the grade averages of the two races may be due to the extra effort exerted by Negro pupils, or to the likelihood that teachers assign higher grades to Negro pupils for the same quality of academic work.[18] A more likely explanation is that teachers assign grades primarily by comparing their students with one another, and a majority of the Negro pupils attend schools in which a large proportion of their fellow students are also Negro. The ability level of the students with whom they are being compared is therefore relatively low, and students with mediocre ability and effort could receive relatively high grades.

Two opposing effects of racial segregation on the grade averages of students are thus suggested. First, since racial segregation and verbal ability are related to one another, Negro pupils in predominantly nonwhite schools might be expected to receive lower grades than those in white schools. On the other hand, if pupils are graded on the basis of their school work relative to that of their classmates, Negro pupils in predominantly white schools might receive lower grades than those in nonwhite schools because of the ability of the students with whom they are being compared. The same types of arguments would apply to white students. White students in predominantly Negro schools have lower ability scores than whites in other schools, but their scores are higher than most of the Negro pupils in these schools. The grade averages of white students in predominantly nonwhite schools might thus be higher than would otherwise be expected because they are being compared with students of lower ability. The relation between the racial composition of schools and the grade averages of students could support either or both of two contentions. One is that teachers base their grading on a comparison of students within their classes. The second is that teachers, at least in part, assign grades on the basis of some ideal model of how much a student should know to receive a certain grade. The evidence in this study tends to support the second contention more than the first. The grade averages of students of both races decrease as the proportion of Negroes in schools increase (Tables 3.4.28 and 3.4.29). This relationship is more evident among sixth grade students for whom the schools are most segregated. Thus racial segregation of schools negatively affects not only the verbal ability skills of students of both races but also the more tangible product of these skills, grades, by which students are often judged when they apply for future occupational and educational advancement.[19]

---

[18] These possibilities seem somewhat unlikely, however, in light of the findings reported in Chapter Three that teachers in predominantly Negro schools rate their students as lower on academic ability, effort, and interest in learning than do teachers in predominantly white schools.

[19] It is also possible that the grades of students in segregated schools are partly a product of teachers' discrimination against them.

TABLE 3.4.27

GRADE AVERAGES FOR SIXTH AND TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS

(Percent)

	SIXTH GRADE			TWELFTH GRADE		
	White	Negro	N	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
D	2.5	8.5	119	1.6	5.1	33
C	20.6	27.1	549	40.1	59.1	667
B	50.1	48.7	1161	49.6	34.9	736
A	26.8	15.8	517	8.7	0.9	117
N	1337	1009	2346	1318	235	1553
*Average Grade Average**	*3.0*	*2.7*		*2.7*	*2.3*	

*Using a four point scale - A = 4 points, B = 3 points, C = 2 points and D = 1 point.

TABLE 3.4.28

GRADE AVERAGES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
D	2.7	1.3	1.6	4.7	7.5	33	3.2	8.8	8.7	7.0	9.6	86
C	23.5	16.1	20.6	19.5	27.5	276	29.0	26.4	27.3	25.8	27.7	273
B	46.4	54.7	49.8	51.6	55.0	670	38.7	56.0	48.0	50.0	47.4	491
A	27.3	27.9	27.9	24.2	10.0	358	29.0	8.8	16.0	17.2	15.4	159
N	549	373	247	128	40	1337	31	91	150	256	481	1009
Average Grade Average	*3.0*	*3.1*	*3.0*	*2.9*	*2.7*		*2.9*	*2.6*	*2.7*	*2.8*	*2.7*	

TABLE 3.4.29

GRADE AVERAGES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
D	0.0	1.5	0.0	3.1	7.7	21	0.0	5.1	2.0	3.7	13.5	12
C	36.2	41.8	35.2	42.0	53.8	528	100.0	56.4	55.1	61.7	56.8	139
B	54.6	48.0	56.8	45.4	33.3	654	0.0	38.5	42.9	32.7	29.7	82
A	9.2	8.8	8.0	9.4	5.1	115	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	2
N	163	479	287	350	39	1318	3	39	49	107	37	235
Average Grade Average	*2.7*	*2.6*	*2.7*	*2.6*	*2.4*		*2.0*	*2.3*	*2.4*	*2.3*	*2.2*	

The relatively small differences in grade averages among Negro pupils in schools of varying racial compositions suggests, however, that teachers do assign grades partially by comparing students with one another, and that Negro students of relatively high verbal ability in predominantly white schools may receive lower grades than pupils of equal ability in nonwhite settings.

It is possible that social class differences among students may explain much of the variation in their grade averages. As was noted earlier, a student's social status is positively related to his verbal ability, and it is suggested that his status is related to his grade average in a similar manner. It was also noted that most Negro pupils have fathers who hold relatively low status jobs. The difference between Negro and white pupils' grade averages might, therefore, be due, at least in part, to their differences in social class. The evidence suggests, however, that this explanation is not adequate. Negro pupils' grade averages are not substantially affected by their fathers' jobs (Tables 3.4.30 and 3.4.31). The grades received by white students are directly related to their fathers' occupational positions. These results seem to indicate that teachers assign grades to white students along social class lines but treat Negro students as though they formed a lower social class of their own. This may seem a somewhat extreme statement, as teachers are certainly guided by the verbal ability of their students in assigning grades and Negro pupils have substantially lower verbal ability scores. There is some variation among the ability scores of Negroes which is related to occupational status, however, and this does not appear in their grade averages.

The educational background of pupils should also be reflected in the grades they receive. Thus, Negro pupils, whose fathers generally have less education than do the fathers of white students, might earn lower grades mainly because of the paucity of their fathers' education. If this were true, Negro pupils whose fathers were well-educated should be expected to earn higher grades than others. However, earlier findings indicate that at least some Negro children with well-educated fathers have relatively low ability scores (Tables 3.4.32 and 3.4.33). Their grades would seem to reflect these abilities as well as their educational backgrounds. The evidence suggests that fathers' educational background positively affects the grade averages of white students, but Negro pupils' grades are affected in much the same way as were their ability scores. Fathers' education would not be of much help then, in explaining the differences between the races in grade averages. The discrepancy between the mean or average grade averages of Negro and white pupils would not be significantly reduced by controlling for the educational attainments of the fathers of students of each race.

The school climate, as indicated by what has been called cultural affluence, might be expected to affect the grades received by students.

TABLE 3.4.30

GRADE AVERAGES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
D	1.1	1.4	1.1	1.8	2.6	17	8.7	5.6	12.5	6.8	5.8	45
C	12.8	15.2	17.3	24.0	23.8	212	30.4	27.8	19.6	25.5	24.8	144
B	45.7	50.7	55.5	49.0	50.3	556	43.5	44.4	52.7	50.0	56.2	301
A	40.4	32.6	26.1	25.2	23.2	316	17.4	22.2	15.2	17.6	13.1	96
N	188	138	283	341	151	1101	23	36	112	278	137	586
Average Grade Average	*3.3*	*3.1*	*3.1*	*3.0*	*2.9*		*2.7*	*2.8*	*2.7*	*2.8*	*2.8*	

TABLE 3.4.31

GRADE AVERAGES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
D	0.5	2.0	1.3	3.6	1.0	18	8.7	0.0	4.9	1.6	5.3	7
C	34.3	37.4	43.0	39.1	41.0	446	52.2	30.8	68.3	58.7	65.8	106
B	51.4	54.4	47.3	50.2	53.3	588	34.8	69.2	26.8	38.1	28.9	63
A	13.8	6.1	8.4	7.1	4.8	108	4.3	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	2
N	385	147	298	225	105	1160	23	13	41	63	38	178
Average Grade Average	*2.8*	*2.7*	*2.6*	*2.6*	*2.6*		*2.3*	*2.7*	*2.2*	*2.4*	*2.2*	

TABLE 3.4.32

GRADE AVERAGES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
D	3.0	2.1	0.4	18	10.6	6.7	10.8	47
C	21.9	20.3	12.6	178	25.5	26.2	33.8	148
B	51.9	50.3	45.6	470	47.2	51.7	40.8	253
A	23.3	27.3	41.4	282	16.8	15.4	14.6	83
N	270	439	239	948	161	240	130	531
Average Grade Average	*2.9*	*3.0*	*3.3*		*2.7*	*2.8*	*2.6*	

TABLE 3.4.33

GRADE AVERAGES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
D	1.6	1.6	1.4	18	2.9	5.6	10.0	9
C	42.2	37.0	34.6	461	66.0	53.7	40.0	109
B	49.4	52.8	50.8	608	31.1	38.9	46.7	67
A	6.8	8.5	13.2	111	0.0	1.9	3.3	2
N	512	316	370	1198	103	54	30	187
Average Grade Average	*2.6*	*2.7*	*2.8*		*2.3*	*2.4*	*2.4*	

That is, students in schools in which most of their fellow students are affluent might be expected to benefit from this climate. It was mentioned earlier that students in such schools tended to have higher verbal ability scores than similar students in other schools, although this finding applied more clearly to white than to Negro pupils. Students in schools having large proportions of culturally affluent pupils might be expected to also receive high grades for their efforts. However, if teachers assign grades by comparing pupils with one another, the less advantaged children in affluent schools might receive even lower grades for their work than they would in less affluent schools. The data suggest that the affluence of a school, as measured by the percentage of students having encyclopedias, has no effect on the grades of either white or Negro pupils (Tables 3.4.34 and 3.4.35). Considering the relationship of school affluence to ability scores, it seems possible that the two aforementioned conflicting factors might be operating to cancel one another out. Whether this supposition is true or not, information on the affluence of fellow students would not seem to aid in explaining the differences between the grade averages of Negro and white pupils. Support for the notion of conflicting effects of intramural and intermural comparisons on the grades of pupils would seem, however, to partially account for the small amount of difference between the two races.

A combination of school and individual characteristics might help to identify the reasons for the differences among white and Negro pupils' grades. Combining the effects of fathers' occupation and the ratio of Negro to white pupils does not seem to add any explanatory power (Tables 3.4.36 and 3.4.37). This in itself is interesting, since it has been shown earlier that increasing percentages of Negro pupils in a school have more of a negative effect on the verbal ability of children whose fathers have blue-collar jobs than on children of white-collar fathers. The absence of this finding in regard to grade averages, suggests that blue-collar children of both races are not at as much of a disadvantage in segregated schools in which the other children with whom they are being compared are also likely to have mediocre ability scores. It may also indicate a lack of effort to succeed on the part of children of high status fathers who find themselves in schools in which most other pupils have low ability.

A combining the educational background of students and the racial composition of schools in an attempt to further specify their effects on pupils' grades presents approximately the same pattern as combining school climate and social class. Students in predominantly Negro schools are likely to receive low grades regardless of their fathers' education (Tables 3.4.38 and 3.4.39). The increased verbal ability scores of white pupils whose fathers were poorly educated with increases in the ratio of Negro to white pupils does not similarly affect their grades. Again, predominantly Negro schools may be detrimental to the grade averages of all students either through the likelihood of teachers to give all pupils in these schools low grades or through a discouragement of effort by high ability pupils to attain high grades.

TABLE 3.4.34

GRADE AVERAGES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS											
	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
D	2.2	2.0	3.6	3.4	1.3	33	7.5	8.3	11.5	5.4	6.7	86
C	18.7	22.2	25.3	22.5	16.5	276	26.5	24.2	30.5	29.7	23.3	273
B	47.3	51.6	45.8	50.3	53.1	670	42.7	52.7	43.7	55.9	58.9	491
A	31.9	24.2	25.3	23.8	29.1	358	23.3	14.8	14.3	9.0	11.1	160
N	182	153	225	378	399	1337	253	277	279	111	90	1010
Average Grade Average	*3.1*	*3.0*	*2.9*	*2.9*	*3.1*		*2.8*	*2.7*	*2.6*	*2.7*	*2.7*	

TABLE 3.4.35

GRADE AVERAGES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS									
	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
D	3.6	1.8	0.6	1.8	21	6.0	5.6	2.3	20.0	12
C	47.2	36.5	38.7	43.1	528	65.1	46.3	62.5	50.0	139
B	42.6	52.5	51.1	47.6	654	28.9	48.1	33.0	30.0	82
A	6.7	9.2	9.7	7.6	115	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	2
N	195	381	517	225	1318	83	54	88	10	235
Average Grade Average	*2.5*	*2.7*	*2.7*	*2.6*		*2.2*	*2.4*	*2.4*	*2.1*	

TABLE 3.4.36

AVERAGE GRADE AVERAGES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Professional	3.2* (123)	3.2 (34)	3.5 (19)	3.3 (9)	3.3 (3)	3.0 (3)	2.0 (2)	2.7 (6)	4.0 (1)	2.6 (11)
Clerical	3.1 (65)	3.3 (30)	3.0 (27)	3.2 (15)	3.0 (1)	4.0 (2)	3.0 (7)	3.0 (1)	2.8 (8)	2.7 (18)
Skilled	3.0 (107)	3.1 (87)	3.1 (57)	3.0 (23)	2.8 (9)	3.2 (4)	2.2 (8)	2.7 (15)	2.9 (26)	2.7 (60)
Semi-skilled	2.9 (112)	3.1 (111)	3.0 (70)	3.0 (38)	2.4 (10)	2.8 (10)	2.5 (24)	2.7 (56)	2.8 (101)	2.8 (87)
Unskilled	2.8 (74)	3.3 (33)	2.9 (28)	2.6 (14)	3.5 (2)	3.5 (2)	2.9 (13)	2.9 (15)	2.9 (37)	2.6 (70)

*Using a four point scale - A = 4 points, B = 3 points, C = 2 points and D = 1 point.

TABLE 3.4.37

AVERAGE GRADE AVERAGES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Professional	2.8*	2.7	2.9	2.9	2.4	---	2.5	2.3	2.4	1.5
	(28)	(200)	(60)	(89)	(8)	(0)	(6)	(3)	(12)	(2)
Clerical	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.5	2.3	---	2.7	2.4	3.0	---
	(21)	(46)	(32)	(46)	(3)	(0)	(3)	(5)	(5)	(0)
Skilled	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.7	---	2.2	2.4	2.2	2.0
	(47)	(101)	(62)	(77)	(11)	(0)	(6)	(11)	(17)	(7)
Semi-skilled	2.6	2.6	2.8	2.5	2.2	2.0	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.4
	(28)	(58)	(62)	(72)	(5)	(1)	(10)	(10)	(34)	(8)
Unskilled	2.8	2.6	2.6	2.6	1.8	---	2.5	2.3	2.2	2.0
	(18)	(27)	(30)	(27)	(4)	(0)	(8)	(9)	(12)	(9)

---

[*] Using a four point scale - A = 4 points, B = 3 points, C = 2 points and D = 1 point.

TABLE 3.4.38

AVERAGE GRADE AVERAGES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Less than High School	*2.9** (103)	*3.1* (69)	*3.0* (57)	*2.7* (34)	*2.7* (7)	*3.0* (5)	*2.5* (18)	*2.5* (22)	*2.8* (40)	*2.7* (76)
High School graduate	*2.9* (188)	*3.2* (120)	*3.1* (76)	*3.1* (44)	*2.4* (11)	*2.9* (8)	*2.7* (22)	*2.7* (43)	*2.8* (65)	*2.7* (103)
More than High School	*3.3* (142)	*3.3* (49)	*3.2* (34)	*3.3* (12)	*3.0* (2)	*2.8* (4)	*2.6* (10)	*2.7* (19)	*2.6* (42)	*2.5* (55)

*Using a four point scale - A = 4 points, B = 3 points, C = 2 points, and D = 1 point.

TABLE 3.4.39

AVERAGE GRADE AVERAGES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-40	51-100
Less than High School	2.7* (75)	2.6 (139)	2.7 (141)	2.5 (145)	2.3 (13)	--- (0)	2.3 (17)	2.4 (29)	2.2 (47)	2.1 (10)
High School graduate	2.8 (55)	2.6 (114)	2.8 (50)	2.7 (84)	2.4 (14)	--- (0)	2.4 (11)	2.2 (9)	2.5 (26)	2.2 (8)
More than High School	2.8 (21)	2.7 (191)	2.8 (60)	2.8 (91)	2.3 (7)	2.0 (1)	3.0 (2)	2.5 (4)	2.4 (16)	2.4 (7)

---

*Using a four point scale - A = 4 points, B = 3 points, C = 2 points and D = 1 point.

The preceding evidence would support the conclusion that segregated schools are detrimental not only to the verbal ability skills of their students but also to the effort these students put into their academic work. The graduates of such segregated schools would enter the adult world with fewer verbal skills and with less proof of being able to use the skills they do have than other young adults. Because so much of an individual's future success in educational and occupational pursuits depends on grades earned in high school, segregated schools would seem to have the greatest detrimental effect on students of both races who have adequate verbal ability but who are not fully encouraged to use this ability in these schools. The effect of de facto school segregation on verbal ability of students would, of course, make it difficult for students in predominantly Negro schools to attain success through the normal educational and occupational channels.

Percentile ranks in class

One further indicator of the probable future success of high school graduates is their relative class standing. This indicator would seem to be inadequate in predicting success other than in comparison with other students in a particular school. It might, however, indicate the relative position of students of the two races in schools of varying racial compositions. It should be mentioned that percentile rank in class is not considered as often as grade average in the decisions which are salient to an individual's future success such as acceptance into institutions of higher education or into occupations. In the present investigation, however, percentile rank is treated as a correlate of grade average and is a part of the official records of the school. It is not dependent, therefore, on truthfulness of respondents as was the case of grades. It also has a greater possible range of variation than grade averages.

Class ranks were available only for twelfth grade students. Among these students, it seems likely that class ranks would be lower for Negro than for white students, as were grades and ability scores. The data do suggest that this is true (Table 3.4.40). The racial composition of schools might be expected to have a double effect on percentile ranks. As Negroes generally have lower grades and ability scores than whites, it might be expected that Negroes in predominantly white schools would hold lower percentile ranks than in other schools. On the other hand, predominantly Negro schools were shown to have negative effects on the grades and ability scores of all students so percentile ranks of Negro pupils mightbe expected to be lower in these schools. The actual effect of schools on percentile ranks follows both of these patterns (Table 3.4.41). Negro pupils have the lowest ranks in the almost exclusively white schools and in schools having more than half nonwhite enrollment. These findings support the disadvantageous effects to Negro pupils of both segregated schools and token integration.

TABLE 3.4.40

PERCENTILE RANK IN CLASS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS
(Percent)

	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0	
1 - 20	11.4	24.1	152
21 - 40	16.3	29.4	208
41 - 60	19.8	19.4	225
61 - 80	24.0	15.3	259
81 - 100	28.5	11.8	296
N	970	170	1140
Average Rank	*58.9*	*42.2*	

TABLE 3.4.41

PERCENTILE RANK IN CLASS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		0.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1 - 20	13.3	13.6	13.8	7.2	5.1	111	0.0	36.4	29.2	14.5	31.3	42
21 - 40	10.7	17.9	14.5	17.9	15.4	158	0.0	22.7	31.3	29.0	31.3	50
41 - 60	9.3	20.5	16.0	24.4	28.2	192	0.0	27.3	20.8	15.9	18.8	33
61 - 80	21.3	22.2	26.5	24.0	25.6	233	0.0	13.6	6.3	21.7	15.6	26
81 - 100	45.3	25.8	29.1	26.5	25.6	276	0.0	0.0	12.5	18.8	3.1	20
N	75	302	275	279	39	970	0	22	48	69	32	171
Average Rank	*66.4*	*55.6*	*59.1*	*60.1*	*61.1*		---	*31.0*	*38.3*	*51.3*	*35.9*	

Differences in the class ranks of Negro and white pupils may be partially explained by their positions in the social hierarchy. Indeed, social class as represented by fathers' occupation and percentile ranks of students are positively related (Table 3.4.42). This relationship is much clearer for white than for Negro pupils, however, and does not seem to explain much of the difference between the two races. Educational background differences would also seem to be related to students' academic rankings. A positive relationship is exhibited between level of fathers' education and the percentile ranks of students (Table 3.4.43). Again, this relationship is stronger for white than for Negro seniors, and would not seem to totally account for the discrepancy between them. As with grade averages, the measure of school climate measured by percentage of fellow students having encyclopedias does not seem to have any effect on the percentile ranks of students (Table 3.4.44). None of these variables adequately explains the differences among Negro and white pupils in academic rankings in class.

A combination of school and individual characteristics might aid in specifying the effects of both on percentile ranks in class of students. However, neither the combination of social class and racial composition of schools (Table 3.4.45), nor that of educational background and segregation in schools (Table 3.4.46), helps to specify the independent effects of these variables on the academic standing of students. Combining school and individual attributes does not seem to help to explain the differences in ranks in class of white and nonwhite pupils.

Discussion

Evidence has been presented in this chapter to support the contention that the school climate or context in which students learn does affect their academic achievement. Of the two aspects of school context which were examined, the racial composition of a school seems to have more influence on the academic performance of students measured by grades and academic standing than does the cultural affluence of fellow students. The proportion of Negro pupils in a school and the percentage of students having access to encyclopedias seem to show approximately the same relationship to verbal ability scores. These findings do not support the assertion of the Office of Education study that the effects of racial composition are accounted for by the effects of other student body characteristics [Coleman, et al., 1966:307 and 330]. Nor is corroboration provided by the present investigation for a greater effect of school context on the achievement potential of Negro than of white pupils. Indeed, if anything, the opposite seems to be true.

TABLE 3.4.42

PERCENTILE RANK IN CLASS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1 - 20	8.2	6.9	16.2	14.2	8.5	93	31.3	0.0	20.0	15.9	34.6	28
21 - 40	11.7	18.1	21.7	18.4	11.0	136	25.0	18.2	34.3	27.3	26.9	37
41 - 60	15.2	23.3	18.2	19.9	24.4	159	12.5	36.4	28.6	20.5	19.2	30
61 - 80	26.6	23.3	23.7	24.1	24.4	212	12.5	36.4	5.7	25.0	11.5	22
81 - 100	38.3	28.4	20.2	23.4	31.7	253	18.8	9.1	11.4	11.4	7.7	15
N	316	116	198	141	82	853	16	11	35	44	26	132
Average Rank	*65.6*	*60.1*	*52.9*	*55.4*	*62.5*		*42.2*	*55.8*	*41.3*	*47.8*	*37.3*	

TABLE 3.4.43

PERCENTILE RANK IN CLASS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
1 - 20	11.6	11.0	9.6	95	30.0	15.8	12.0	33
21 - 40	19.4	15.0	11.8	138	26.2	26.3	44.0	42
41 - 60	19.7	21.6	18.2	174	21.2	23.7	12.0	29
61 - 80	26.0	21.6	24.2	215	15.0	26.3	8.0	24
81 - 100	23.4	30.8	36.3	265	7.5	7.9	24.0	15
N	346	227	314	887	80	38	25	143
Average Rank	*55.3*	*58.5*	*63.5*		*39.7*	*45.4*	*47.6*	

TABLE 3.4.44

PERCENTILE RANK IN CLASS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS									
	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1 - 20	10.9	17.0	9.5	11.9	111	31.2	9.1	22.2	22.2	42
21 - 40	19.2	16.3	15.1	15.9	158	23.4	36.4	34.9	22.2	50
41 - 60	19.7	21.3	20.5	17.7	192	15.6	27.3	19.0	33.3	33
61 - 80	24.4	24.8	25.1	21.2	233	16.9	18.2	11.1	22.2	26
81 - 100	25.9	20.6	29.8	33.2	276	13.0	9.1	12.7	0.0	20
N	193	141	410	226	970	77	22	63	9	171
Average Rank	*58.1*	*53.7*	*60.6*	*59.9*		*41.4*	*48.7*	*41.7*	*36.2*	

TABLE 3.4.45

AVERAGE PERCENTILE RANK IN CLASS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Professional	*73.2*	*61.2*	*66.0*	*72.3*	*66.6*	---	*38.0*	*22.0*	*62.6*	*18.0*
	(20)	(155)	(58)	(75)	(8)	(0)	(3)	(4)	(7)	(2)
Clerical	*63.2*	*57.2*	*62.8*	*59.7*	*53.0*	---	*48.0*	*56.0*	*61.5*	---
	(12)	(31)	(31)	(39)	(3)	(0)	(3)	(4)	(4)	(0)
Skilled	*62.2*	*47.1*	*51.5*	*54.0*	*73.4*	---	*3.0*	*39.6*	*45.9*	*50.8*
	(12)	(55)	(59)	(61)	(11)	(0)	(3)	(11)	(14)	(7)
Semi-skilled	*62.7*	*37.5*	*60.4*	*52.7*	*57.2*	---	*33.8*	*38.9*	*58.8*	*36.1*
	(11)	(13)	(58)	(54)	(5)	(0)	(5)	(10)	(22)	(7)
Unskilled	*72.5*	*58.4*	*62.0*	*63.4*	*47.5*	---	*35.2*	*34.6*	*43.7*	*36.7*
	(13)	(18)	(28)	(20)	(4)	(0)	(5)	(9)	(6)	(6)

TABLE 3.4.46

AVERAGE PERCENTILE RANK IN CLASS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Less than High School	62.4	48.5	61.1	55.9	56.3	---	31.5	35.9	47.3	31.2
	(29)	(65)	(134)	(106)	(13)	(0)	(12)	(28)	(31)	(9)
High School graduate	68.5	54.3	56.3	62.4	64.8	---	33.0	44.9	55.9	37.6
	(29)	(65)	(48)	(71)	(14)	(0)	(6)	(9)	(16)	(7)
More than High School	79.1	60.5	62.4	67.4	71.6	---	36.0	43.0	55.8	40.0
	(14)	(153)	(59)	(81)	(7)	(0)	(1)	(4)	(13)	(7)

White students' academic abilities and skills are more consistently depressed by poor school climates than are those of Negro students.[20] Generally, however, poor school climates operate to downgrade the possibility of future success of their students.

The negative effect of the school climate, measured by the proportion of nonwhite enrollment, is evident regardless of the social class or educational status of individual students. Although individual background characteristics do affect the abilities and performance of pupils, especially of white pupils, these influences do not subsume the effects of school context. Especially for nonwhite pupils, school context is often as important, if not more important, in explaining variations in academic ability and performance.

There are a number of possible explanations of the dour effects of such a school climate on the achievement potential of pupils. One such explanation would be in terms of self-selection. That is, students who have little ability tend to select the schools with poor school climate. Although there is no evidence to support or refute this allegation directly, it is interesting to note that the grades of students in schools with predominantly nonwhite enrollments are low even for the students within these schools who were found to have relatively high ability scores, such as the children of white professionals or of well-educated fathers. The schools then would seem to negatively affect the performance even of those pupils who have relatively good verbal ability. Another possible explanation of the depressing influence of segregated schools on the potential of students is the notion of a "vicious cycle." Students who attend predominantly nonwhite schools may have poor intellectual backgrounds and abilities which the schools, in turn, reinforce to produce poor grades and low scores on standardized tests of verbal skills. This downward spiral is probably akin to the cycle suggested earlier in which teachers of predominantly Negro students tend to see their pupils as lacking in ability and effort, and these students fulfill the prophesy by living up to the prejudices of their teachers, which in turn means that their next teachers are likely to have some justification for believing the students have low ability and effort, etc. The students in segregated schools would thus seem to be caught in a web from which there is little possibility of escape and which insures that they will not achieve success through the societally approved channels.

The characteristics of the school and of the student were also found to affect the verbal ability scores of Negro pupils in a different way from their grade averages and academic rankings.

---

[20] This would seem to contradict the Office of Education evidence that more of the variance in the achievement scores of Negroes than of whites was explained by attributes of fellow students [Coleman, et al., 1966:302-310]. This seeming contradiction, however, is probably accounted for by the fact that since all individual and school-related factors affect whites more than Negroes, the variance explained in Negroes' scores by characteristics of fellow students might seem large in relation to the relatively small amount explained by individual background attributes.

There would seem to be several possible reasons why Negro pupils receive low grades regardless of their social class positions, especially in segregated schools. One possible explanation is that Negro pupils might be more likely to act as though they were lower class whether or not this was the case. Kenneth Clark [1965:21] suggests that the lower class culture permeates the Negro community and sets the standards by which members of this group behave. Another possibility, however, is that teachers may not visualize the differences among Negro pupils, because most teachers are white. They may then treat all Negro pupils in substantially the same way thus incurring identical behavior in all Negro students. This is another example of the possibility of a "vicious cycle" which operates to maintain the status quo and further depresses the success possibilities of nonwhites.

One further conclusion can be drawn from the evidence presented herein. Neither individual or school characteristics nor a combination of both can fully explain the difference in academic potential between Negro and white students. Although there are sizeable variations within each race in terms of ability scores and grades, the variation between the races cannot be substantially reduced by controlling for the effects of school or individual attributes. Thus, most Negro students whose fathers are well educated have lower verbal ability scores than white pupils whose fathers did not complete high school. White students in schools which are almost exclusively nonwhite in composition compare more favorably with the national distribution of I.Q. than do most Negroes in predominantly white schools. The overlap between the grade averages of Negro and white pupils is somewhat greater than in their ability scores but it is still likely that the least advantaged white student will receive higher grades than the most advantaged Negro. The racial identification of a student, rather than any of the individual or school characteristics examined in this investigation, accounts for most of the variation in academic potential of grade and high school students.[21] This would seem to paint a very dreary picture of the future success possibilities for Negroes, regardless of their backgrounds or their school related experiences.

---

[21] Reanalysis of the data from the Office of Education study [Coleman, et al., 1966] also shows clearly that race has more influence on achievement than any of the other factors which were considered [U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967:I,80-85, especially Figures 1, 2, and 3].

Chapter Five

EFFECTS OF DE FACTO SCHOOL SEGREGATION ON THE ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS OF STUDENTS

The educational and occupational future of students depends rather heavily on their desire to succeed as well as on their ability and academic accomplishments. This desire is reflected in their aspirations and expectations. In many instances, students of relatively mediocre ability have made the most of their opportunities when they were highly motivated to do so. On the other hand, and this has been commented upon on numerous occasions, individuals with superior ability can be miserable failures if they lack this aspiration to succeed. Moreover, those students who actually expect to attain high educational and occupational status, who are optimistic over their chances for success, share an expectation that may make that success possible. It is important, therefore, to consider both the aspirations and expectations of students since they can have a rather profound influence on their future attainments.

It is assumed that both the social origins of students and the racial composition of the school, which were found to influence the academic achievement of students in Chapter Four, would affect their aspirations and expectations in a similar fashion. In predominantly Negro schools, where it was found that teachers are most likely to regard their students as lacking in ability, motivation and interest in learning, it is probable that students will respond by showing little interest in aspiring to societally approved goals and by being relatively pessimistic in their expectations as to their own educational and occupational futures. Students in these schools are, it will be remembered, handicapped by low scores on standardized tests of academic achievement and by low grades. A reasonable reaction on their part might be,therefore, to depress their own aspirations and expectations. If this were indeed the case, a "vicious cycle" is described.

Children of high status families have their hopes and plans reinforced by their experiences while at home and in the school. Normally they have relevant models to emulate in their families and in the neighborhoods in which they live. In both, it is expected that children will indeed be successful. It seems that a commitment to lofty educational and occupational attainments would be internalized by these youth as a matter of course. Moreover, their aspirations and expectations are normally reinforced by their relatively high level of academic achievement and their teachers' positive evaluations of their interest in learning.

Lastly, it is assumed that the climate of a school is relevant to understanding the aspirations and expectations of students. A school climate that is culturally and intellectually stimulating can be expected to heighten educational and occupational goals. The effect of fellow students on an individual's educational plans was evident in Alan Wilson's study of Berkeley high school students [1959:836-845]. Wilson found that those students who attended schools which were basically upper status in normative climate were more likely to plan to attend college than students of comparable social backgrounds who attended less stimulating schools. It is expected that a similar pattern will be found among students attending schools in Connecticut's five central cities.

Findings

Occupational Aspirations and Expectations

The distinction between occupational aspirations and expectations was made in the usual way. Students were asked what occupation they would like to enter in the future as well as what kind of job they thought they would really find. Most students, it was expected, would aspire to high status occupational positions. In reporting the kind of occupation they actually think they will hold, however, students were expected to be more realistic about their capabilities and about the social structural impediments to their achieving high status. If these assumptions are valid, it would seem likely that while Negro students might aspire to high occupational position, their expectations would be depressed by their knowledge of their own academic abilities and the patterns of racial discrimination so long apparent in the larger community. It also seems likely that this kind of knowledge increases with a person's age. If this were the case, Negro seniors should have lower expectations than Negro sixth graders. The evidence confirms these major contentions (Tables 3.5.1 and 3.5.2). Two findings are of particular interest. First, the occupational aspirations of all students are high and the differences between the races in this regard relatively

TABLE 3.5.1

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR SIXTH AND TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS

(Percent)

	SIXTH			TWELFTH		
	White	Negro	N	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Professional[*]	65.4	60.1	1297	67.4	63.3	931
Clerical	13.0	14.0	275	21.7	25.1	310
Skilled	11.0	9.3	212	4.7	7.9	72
Semi-skilled	2.3	6.2	80	0.9	0.9	13
Unskilled	8.3	10.3	187	5.3	2.8	69
N	1216	835	2051	1180	215	1395

TABLE 3.5.2

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR SIXTH AND TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS

(Percent)

	SIXTH			TWELFTH		
	White	Negro	N	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Professional[*]	60.9	56.5	880	61.0	52.9	723
Clerical	14.1	17.1	228	26.4	28.5	322
Skilled	11.1	7.8	145	5.0	8.7	67
Semi-skilled	5.2	7.0	88	2.0	6.4	32
Unskilled	8.7	11.6	147	5.6	3.5	64
N	886	602	1488	1036	172	1208

[*] Professional includes all professional and managerial positions
Clerical includes all clerical and sales positions
Skilled includes all the trades and technical positions
Semi-skilled includes all the operative positions
Unskilled includes laborers, farm and non-farm

small.[1] Second, the occupational expectations of Negro students are considerably lower than those of whites. It must be pointed out however, that the majority of Negro pupils still expect to achieve an occupational status which is valued highly by the larger community. The findings also reveal that the percentage of Negroes expecting high status occupational positions does in fact decrease when sixth graders are compared to high school seniors. This general trend is also apparent among white students, however, suggesting students of both races become more "realistic" in their expectations as they become more familiar with their own abilities and societal hindrances to the realization of the "American Dream."

The findings reveal that the racial composition of the school has little or no effect on the students' occupational aspirations while it is negatively related to their occupational plans or expectations. As can be seen from the results reported in the tables (Tables 3.5.3 and 3.5.4), an increasing proportion of Negroes in the school does not depress the hopes of high occupational status for these students. When the more "realistic" plans or expectations of students are examined in relation to the racial composition of the school, on the other hand, predominantly Negro schools are characterized by relatively low expectations. This is the case for students of both races (Tables 3.5.5 and 3.5.6). One rather interesting addendum to the latter finding, is that grade school students who are in definite racial minority in their school are most likely to lave low expectations as to their occupational status. It seems that "token" integration does not improve the life-chances of those students in the minority but rather hinders their chances of future occupational success. The relatively great disparity between the aspirations and expectations of students in predominantly Negro schools may, furthermore, describe a rather frustrating and conflict-ridden school climate. When one believes in the "American Dream" but realizes that his own attainments will be relatively modest as a result of racial discrimination and exploitation, violence directed at representatives of the system is a rather predictable result.

The students' social class background is, as was predicted, positively associated with their occupational aspirations (Tables 3.5.7 and 3.5.8) and expectations (Tables 3.5.9 and 3.5.10). The occupational status of a student's father has, however, a greater influence on the hopes and plans of white than of Negro students.

---

[1] The sex of a student would be expected to greatly affect his occupational aspirations and expectations, and, to some extent, his educational plans. Controlling for sex, however, would have dramatically reduced the number of individuals in each category of school and individual variables. As there were approximately equal proportions of each sex within these categories, sex was not held constant in order to increase the number of respondents.

TABLE 3.5.3

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Professional	68.8	60.1	67.8	67.0	48.6	795	60.0	62.9	58.6	60.4	60.0	502
Clerical	11.5	17.0	10.6	9.8	20.0	158	16.0	12.9	14.8	11.2	15.2	117
Skilled	9.7	12.6	11.9	8.0	17.1	134	4.0	12.9	11.7	7.1	9.4	78
Semi-skilled	2.0	2.6	1.8	2.7	5.7	28	8.0	5.7	5.5	10.2	4.6	52
Unskilled	7.9	7.8	7.9	12.5	8.6	101	12.0	5.7	9.4	11.2	10.8	86
N	494	348	227	112	35	1216	25	70	128	197	415	835

TABLE 3.5.4

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Professional	60.1	72.5	60.9	67.4	80.0	795	66.7	68.6	66.7	59.6	64.5	136
Clerical	26.8	16.6	26.4	23.1	17.1	256	0.0	25.7	31.0	24.0	22.6	54
Skilled	8.0	4.4	6.2	2.8	0.0	55	33.3	2.9	2.4	11.5	6.5	17
Semi-skilled	0.0	0.7	0.8	1.9	0.0	11	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.5	2
Unskilled	5.1	5.8	5.8	4.7	2.9	63	0.0	2.9	0.0	4.8	0.0	6
N	138	433	258	316	35	1180	3	35	42	104	31	215

TABLE 3.5.5

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-1-	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Professional	64.9	58.1	61.0	57.5	44.8	540	44.4	59.3	53.8	60.5	55.8	340
Clerical	11.8	18.1	11.6	15.0	20.7	125	16.7	13.0	19.8	12.4	19.0	103
Skilled	9.0	11.3	14.6	11.2	13.8	98	5.6	13.0	6.6	7.0	7.7	47
Semi-skilled	4.7	5.6	5.5	3.7	10.3	46	16.7	7.4	9.9	8.5	4.8	42
Unskilled	9.6	6.9	7.3	12.5	10.3	77	16.7	7.4	9.9	11.6	12.6	70
N	365	248	164	80	29	886	18	54	91	129	310	602

TABLE 3.5.6

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Professional	55.9	65.1	55.5	60.5	73.3	632	33.3	66.7	48.5	54.7	39.1	91
Clerical	29.7	20.7	31.8	29.2	20.0	273	0.0	14.8	42.4	26.7	34.8	49
Skilled	8.5	5.7	4.5	3.6	0.0	52	33.3	7.4	0.0	10.5	13.0	15
Semi-skilled	1.7	1.8	1.8	2.1	6.7	21	33.3	11.1	3.0	4.7	8.7	11
Unskilled	4.2	6.7	6.4	4.6	0.0	58	0.0	0.0	6.1	3.5	4.3	6
N	118	387	220	281	30	1036	3	27	33	86	23	172

TABLE 3.5.7

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Professional	81.9	74.2	63.1	61.7	60.7	679	71.4	50.0	59.0	61.7	59.8	304
Clerical	6.4	12.5	10.8	15.9	13.6	124	9.5	20.0	13.0	13.6	16.2	72
Skilled	6.4	5.5	13.4	11.7	10.7	105	9.5	20.0	14.0	7.2	7.7	48
Semi-skilled	0.6	0.8	2.6	3.9	0.7	22	0.0	3.3	6.0	8.5	4.3	32
Unskilled	4.7	7.0	10.1	6.8	14.3	85	9.5	6.7	8.0	8.9	12.0	47
N	171	128	268	308	140	1015	21	30	100	235	117	503

TABLE 3.5.8

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER's OCCUPATION											
	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Professional	82.3	75.7	58.9	57.3	63.8	720	83.3	69.2	50.0	67.2	60.6	108
Clerical	12.2	15.4	24.1	29.6	28.7	214	12.5	23.1	33.3	24.6	27.3	42
Skilled	2.6	3.7	8.5	5.0	3.2	50	4.2	7.7	8.3	4.9	9.1	11
Semi-skilled	0.3	0.7	1.9	0.5	1.1	9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	1
Unskilled	2.6	4.4	6.7	7.5	3.2	51	0.0	0.0	8.3	3.3	0.0	5
N	345	136	270	199	94	1044	24	13	36	61	33	167

TABLE 3.5.9

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Professional	83.3	67.0	61.2	52.6	58.1	473	52.9	69.6	60.6	53.8	55.4	208
Clerical	4.8	19.0	12.2	16.7	13.3	101	17.6	4.3	13.6	19.9	20.7	66
Skilled	7.1	5.0	14.8	13.6	7.6	82	5.9	4.3	13.6	7.6	6.5	30
Semi-skilled	0.0	3.0	5.1	9.2	2.9	37	5.9	13.0	7.6	8.2	3.3	26
Unskilled	4.8	6.0	6.6	7.9	18.1	62	17.6	8.7	4.5	10.5	14.1	39
N	126	100	196	228	105	755	17	23	66	171	92	369

TABLE 3.5.10

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	Professional	Clerical	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	N	Professional	Clerical	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Professional	78.8	70.1	51.1	48.0	58.5	574	70.0	69.2	39.3	52.1	52.0	72
Clerical	15.9	20.5	29.4	35.2	32.9	231	20.0	23.1	39.3	31.3	20.0	38
Skilled	1.7	3.4	9.4	7.3	2.4	46	10.0	7.7	7.1	6.3	12.0	11
Semi-skilled	1.0	0.0	4.3	2.2	1.2	18	0.0	0.0	7.1	8.3	12.0	9
Unskilled	2.6	6.0	6.0	7.3	4.9	46	0.0	0.0	7.1	2.1	4.0	4
N	302	117	235	179	82	915	20	13	28	48	25	134

If it can be assumed that a student's aspirations and expectations do affect their achievement of high occupational status later in life, then a white student from upper or middle-class parents has an advantage over Negro students from a similar background.

The educational attainments of a student's father was used as another measure of his family's social status. It was expected that this measure would be positively related to a student's occupational aspirations and expectations. In the present study, it was found that for white students, educational background and occupational aspirations are closely associated (Tables 3.5.11 and 3.5.12). The occupational aspirations of Negro pupils, on the other hand, show little relation to their fathers' education. With regard to the students' occupational expectations, it was found that the proportion of students of both races expecting to acquire prestigious positions in the future was positively related to their fathers' educational achievements (Tables 3.5.13 and 3.5.14). As was true when the influence of a student's social class background was examined, the effect of varying educational backgrounds on occupational aspirations and expectations is greater for white than for Negro students. The two findings may indicate that there has developed or is developing among Negro youth a Negro subculture characterized by relatively "watered-down" expectations of future educational and occupational achievement. If these lowered expectations actually do influence their actual chances of future success, a "vicious cycle" or "self-fulfilling prophecy" is, in fact, described.

The "causal" significance of the school climate for these concerns is relatively meager. The findings reveal that the degree of cultural stimulation characterizing a school climate, as measured by the proportion of students having encyclopedias in their homes is not very important in understanding the occupational aspirations among students (Tables 3.5.15 and 3.5.16). The relationship is slightly supported among white students but is much less visible among Negroes. Moreover, this aspect of the school climate seems to have little or no effect on the proportion of students, regardless of race, who expect to attain high occupational status in the future (Tables 3.5.17 and 3.5.18). The occupational hopes of white students seem to be slightly enhanced by their contact with a stimulating school climate. However, when it comes to the more "realistic" appraisal of their occupational future, these are much more likely to be influenced by their family's social status.

As in earlier chapter, a multivariate analysis is employed to arrive at some understanding of the combined effects of the students' social origins and the racial composition of the school. This procedure may prove useful in identifying the type of students whose occupational aspirations and expectations are most noticeably influenced by de facto school segregation. When the joint contribution of the racial composition of the school and the occupational attainments of a students' father are examined, it is found that the proportion of Negroes in the school has little influence on the aspirations of students regardless of their occupational background (Tables 3.5.19 and 3.5.20).

TABLE 3.5.11

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Professional	64.0	64.5	80.5	592	59.5	59.8	56.5	258
Clerical	14.6	11.8	6.4	97	15.9	14.2	12.0	62
Skilled	10.5	12.8	8.2	95	8.7	11.3	12.0	47
Semi-skilled	2.5	1.5	1.4	15	5.6	3.9	7.4	23
Unskilled	8.4	9.4	3.6	66	10.3	10.8	12.0	48
	239	406	220	865	126	204	108	438

TABLE 3.5.12

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Professional	59.2	69.9	82.6	748	67.0	63.3	79.3	119
Clerical	26.4	21.3	11.5	219	21.6	22.4	13.8	36
Skilled	6.0	3.5	2.6	46	6.2	10.2	3.4	12
Semi-skilled	0.9	1.4	0.3	9	2.1	0.0	0.0	2
Unskilled	7.5	3.8	2.9	55	3.1	4.1	3.4	6
N	451	286	340	1077	97	49	29	175

TABLE 3.5.13

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Professional	52.8	60.9	78.6	408	51.5	52.3	59.7	180
Clerical	14.0	16.1	6.0	83	22.7	19.8	11.9	64
Skilled	12.9	12.0	8.3	73	10.3	11.0	4.5	32
Semi-skilled	10.1	2.3	1.8	28	6.2	7.0	7.5	23
Unskilled	10.1	8.7	5.4	53	9.3	9.9	16.4	37
N	178	299	168	645	97	172	67	336

TABLE 3.5.14

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Professional	51.4	65.4	78.6	605	53.9	53.8	72.0	80
Clerical	31.3	26.0	14.9	236	22.4	30.8	20.0	34
Skilled	6.9	3.9	2.0	44	5.3	12.8	8.0	11
Semi-skilled	3.0	2.4	0.7	20	11.8	0.0	0.0	9
Unskilled	7.4	2.4	3.7	47	6.6	2.6	0.0	6
N	403	254	295	952	76	39	25	140

TABLE 3.5.15

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS											
	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Professional	59.9	58.9	59.4	65.9	73.2	795	58.4	61.0	60.7	59.8	60.6	502
Clerical	16.0	17.1	12.9	12.6	10.4	158	13.7	14.8	12.1	17.4	14.1	117
Skilled	11.7	13.0	13.9	11.8	7.7	134	9.1	10.6	7.9	8.7	11.3	78
Semi-skilled	4.3	1.4	3.0	1.5	2.2	28	7.6	6.4	7.5	3.3	1.4	52
Unskilled	8.0	9.6	10.9	8.2	6.6	101	11.2	7.2	11.7	10.9	12.7	86
N	162	146	202	340	366	1216	197	236	239	92	71	835

TABLE 3.5.16

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS									
	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Professional	66.1	55.6	72.6	75.5	795	66.7	54.9	65.0	66.7	136
Clerical	25.4	29.6	16.9	16.7	256	22.7	25.5	27.5	22.2	54
Skilled	3.4	7.3	2.8	5.9	55	8.0	15.7	2.5	11.1	17
Semi-skilled	2.3	0.6	0.9	0.5	11	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2
Unskilled	2.8	6.9	6.8	1.5	63	0.0	3.9	5.0	0.0	6
N	177	331	468	204	1180	75	51	80	9	215

TABLE 3.5.17

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS											
	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Professional	52.9	56.9	53.3	63.4	68.0	540	56.0	61.5	56.5	41.4	61.5	340
Clerical	16.8	18.6	14.7	13.2	11.8	125	17.0	16.6	14.7	28.6	11.5	103
Skilled	12.6	11.8	16.0	9.9	8.5	98	5.0	9.5	7.6	8.6	9.6	47
Semi-skilled	10.1	5.9	5.3	4.1	3.7	46	8.5	5.3	8.2	5.7	5.8	42
Unskilled	7.6	6.9	10.7	9.5	8.1	77	13.5	7.1	12.9	15.7	11.5	70
N	119	102	150	243	272	886	141	169	170	70	52	602

TABLE 3.5.18

OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS									
	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Professional	57.0	50.9	65.8	69.4	632	50.8	50.0	55.6	66.7	91
Clerical	32.2	34.6	21.2	20.2	273	29.5	31.0	27.0	16.7	49
Skilled	3.4	6.9	4.1	5.5	52	8.2	14.3	4.8	16.7	15
Semi-skilled	4.7	1.0	1.4	2.7	21	6.6	2.4	9.5	0.0	11
Unskilled	2.7	6.6	7.5	2.2	58	4.9	2.4	3.2	0.0	6
N	149	289	415	183	1036	61	42	63	6	172

TABLE 3.5.19

PERCENTAGE OF SIXTH GRADE PUPILS ASPIRING TO PROFESSIONAL AND MANAGERIAL OCCUPATIONS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Professional	82.0	83.9	77.8	75.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	85.7	100.0	50.0
	(111)*	(31)	(18)	(8)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(7)	(1)	(10)
Clerical	80.6	51.9	80.0	84.6	0.0	---	33.3	100.0	62.5	46.7
	(62)	(27)	(25)	(13)	(1)	(0)	(6)	(1)	(8)	(15)
Skilled	68.0	57.5	61.1	75.0	42.9	50.0	71.4	53.3	52.4	62.3
	(100)	(87)	(54)	(20)	(7)	(4)	(7)	(15)	(21)	(53)
Semi-skilled	59.4	56.7	75.0	63.3	44.4	60.0	52.9	57.4	64.2	63.7
	(101)	(104)	(64)	(30)	(9)	(10)	(17)	(47)	(81)	(80)
Unskilled	59.1	64.5	61.5	57.1	66.7	100.0	75.0	50.0	53.8	60.3
	(66)	(31)	(26)	(14)	(3)	(2)	(12)	(14)	(26)	(63)

*Numbers in parentheses refer to the number of cases on which the percentages are based.

TABLE 3.5.20

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS ASPIRING TO PROFESSIONAL AND MANAGERIAL OCCUPATIONS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Professional	72.7 (22)	83.5 (182)	74.5 (55)	87.2 (78)	87.5 (8)	--- (0)	66.7 (6)	75.0 (4)	91.7 (12)	100.0 (2)
Clerical	68.4 (19)	78.6 (42)	69.0 (29)	81.8 (44)	50.0 (2)	--- (0)	66.7 (3)	60.0 (5)	80.0 (5)	--- (0)
Skilled	54.8 (42)	64.1 (92)	51.9 (54)	57.7 (71)	72.7 (11)	--- (0)	40.0 (5)	77.8 (9)	37.5 (16)	50.0 (6)
Semi-skilled	50.0 (24)	58.0 (50)	59.6 (57)	54.7 (64)	100.0 (4)	100.0 (1)	77.8 (9)	77.8 (9)	55.9 (34)	87.5 (8)
Unskilled	78.6 (14)	72.0 (25)	66.7 (27)	48.0 (25)	33.3 (3)	--- (0)	71.4 (7)	75.0 (8)	58.3 (12)	33.3 (6)

No consistent pattern emerges that suggests that children of particular social class backgrounds are more affected than others by differing racial compositions. When the joint contribution of these variables is analyzed in regard to the students occupational expectations, no new insights are forthcoming (Tables 3.5.21 and 3.5.22). It is apparent that predominantly Negro schools continue to exhibit more influence on the occupational expectations than the aspirations of pupils, regardless of their social class backgrounds. It is also apparent that the students' social class backgrounds are positively related to both their occupational hopes and plans within schools of varying racial mixtures.

When the racial composition of the schools and the educational attainments of students' fathers are related jointly to the occupational aspirations and expectations of students, a group of students are identified who seem particularly harmed by the effects of de facto school segregation. The findings reveal that both in terms of occupational aspirations (Tables 3.5.23 and 3.5.24) and expectations (Tables 3.5.25 and 3.5.26) the children of well-educated Negro families suffer most from segregated schools.[2] As was true in the foregoing, the racial composition of the school is more important in understanding a student's occupational expectations than his aspirations. This is true regardless of the student's race.

Educational Aspirations and Expectations

With the development of a complex and highly skilled division of labor in the United States the demand for a more highly educated labor force has increased. This trend has been given added impetus by the bureaucratization of the world of work as well as the increasing professionalization of the various occupational roles. Over the last few decades, as a result, education has become the major channel for upward mobility and future success. Without the requisite educational "credentials," in fact, an individual can no longer function as a productive member of an "Expert Society." It seems important, therefore, to examine the educational aspirations and expectations of students in Connecticut's five major cities since they will no doubt influence their educational achievements in the future. For obvious reasons, this examination was much more complete and thorough for high school seniors than was the case for sixth graders. The elementary school pupils were asked merely how much schooling they hoped to complete as well as their actual plans in this matter. The high school seniors, on the other hand, were questioned as to the type of higher education they desired as well as their aspirations and expectations as to what they would be doing immediately following high school

---

[2] Perhaps this occurs because all students, and particularly all Negro students, regardless of their social or educational status are treated alike as lacking in ability, effort, and interest in learning by the teachers in these schools. It was noted in Chapter Four that students, especially Negroes, in these segregated schools all received low grades, regardless of their individual backgrounds.

TABLE 3.5.21

PERCENTAGE OF SIXTH GRADE PUPILS EXPECTING TO PERFORM PROFESSIONAL AND MANAGERIAL OCCUPATIONS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Professional	83.3 (78)	83.3 (24)	86.7 (15)	66.7 (6)	100.0 (3)	--- (0)	100.0 (1)	83.3 (6)	0.0 (1)	33.3 (9)
Clerical	69.4 (49)	66.7 (21)	60.0 (20)	77.8 (9)	0.0 (1)	0.0 (1)	75.0 (4)	--- (0)	83.3 (6)	66.7 (12)
Skilled	60.8 (74)	61.2 (67)	56.8 (37)	76.9 (13)	60.0 (5)	50.0 (2)	83.3 (6)	42.9 (7)	46.2 (13)	65.8 (38)
Semi-skilled	51.3 (76)	50.7 (73)	60.9 (46)	52.0 (25)	37.5 (8)	50.0 (8)	53.3 (15)	52.9 (34)	57.7 (52)	51.6 (62)
Unskilled	59.6 (47)	54.2 (24)	66.7 (21)	45.5 (11)	50.0 (2)	100.0 (1)	70.0 (10)	45.5 (11)	50.0 (20)	56.0 (50)

TABLE 3.5.22

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS EXPECTING TO PERFORM PROFESSIONAL AND MANAGERIAL OCCUPATIONS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Professional	58.8	81.3	71.7	83.3	71.4	---	33.3	50.0	100.0	100.0
	(17)	(160)	(46)	(72)	(7)	(0)	(6)	(4)	(8)	(2)
Clerical	75.0	70.3	60.0	75.7	50.0	---	66.7	60.0	80.0	---
	(16)	(37)	(25)	(37)	(2)	(0)	(3)	(5)	(5)	(0)
Skilled	54.5	53.1	44.7	47.7	77.8	---	50.0	71.4	23.1	25.0
	(33)	(81)	(47)	(65)	(9)	(0)	(4)	(7)	(13)	(4)
Semi-skilled	40.9	45.8	53.1	45.5	80.0	100.0	83.3	33.3	53.6	28.6
	(22)	(48)	(49)	(55)	(5)	(1)	(6)	(6)	(28)	(7)
Unskilled	69.2	57.1	69.6	45.5	33.3	---	83.3	66.7	44.4	0.0
	(13)	(21)	(23)	(22)	(3)	(0)	(6)	(6)	(9)	(4)

TABLE 3.5.23

PERCENTAGE OF SIXTH GRADE PUPILS ASPIRING TO PROFESSIONAL AND MANAGERIAL OCCUPATIONS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Less than High School	66.7	59.1	60.8	70.4	80.0	66.7	57.1	47.1	60.0	62.7
	(90)	(66)	(51)	(27)	(5)	(3)	(14)	(17)	(25)	(67)
High School graduate	64.9	61.1	68.6	65.0	66.7	42.9	50.0	60.5	61.2	62.0
	(174)	(113)	(70)	(40)	(9)	(7)	(18)	(38)	(49)	(92)
More than High School	84.6	71.1	80.6	75.0	50.0	66.7	83.3	63.2	64.7	43.5
	(130)	(45)	(31)	(12)	(2)	(3)	(6)	(19)	(34)	(46)

TABLE 3.5.24

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS ASPIRING TO PROFESSIONAL AND MANAGERIAL OCCUPATIONS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Less than High School	55.0	57.7	59.5	60.3	81.8	---	68.8	76.0	64.6	50.0
	(60)	(123)	(126)	(131)	(11)	(0)	(16)	(25)	(48)	(8)
High School graduate	64.7	74.8	63.6	68.9	78.6	---	77.8	71.4	57.7	57.1
	(51)	(103)	(44)	(74)	(14)	(0)	(8)	(5)	(22)	(4)
More than High School	70.6	84.2	73.6	87.2	85.7	100.0	100.0	50.0	83.3	50.0
	(17)	(177)	(53)	(86)	(7)	(1)	(2)	(4)	(12)	(6)

TABLE 3.5.25

PERCENTAGE OF SIXTH GRADE PUPILS EXPECTING TO PERFORM PROFESSIONAL AND MANAGERIAL OCCUPATIONS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Less than High School	56.7	52.8	35.1	77.8	33.3	66.7	62.5	33.3	47.4	54.5
	(67)	(53)	(37)	(18)	(3)	(3)	(8)	(12)	(19)	(55)
High School graduate	61.5	60.3	66.7	46.4	66.7	28.6	41.2	46.9	61.1	55.0
	(130)	(78)	(59)	(28)	(6)	(7)	(17)	(32)	(36)	(80)
More than High School	82.3	74.3	80.0	60.0	50.0	---	100.0	66.7	70.0	48.6
	(96)	(35)	(25)	(10)	(2)	(0)	(3)	(9)	(20)	(35)

TABLE 3.5.26

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS EXPECTING TO PERFORM PROFESSIONAL AND MANAGERIAL OCCUPATIONS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Less than High School	52.8	44.6	50.0	56.4	77.8	---	63.6	50.0	59.0	16.7
	(53)	(112)	(112)	(117)	(9)	(0)	(11)	(20)	(39)	(6)
High School graduate	64.3	70.7	59.0	62.9	63.6	---	62.5	60.0	50.0	50.0
	(42)	(92)	(39)	(70)	(11)	(0)	(8)	(5)	(22)	(4)
More than High School	66.7	80.1	76.7	78.4	85.7	100.0	100.0	50.0	83.3	50.0
	(15)	(156)	(43)	(74)	(7)	(1)	(2)	(4)	(12)	(6)

graduation.[3] It should be apparent that the data gathered from twelfth graders is not strictly comparable to that taken from grade school pupils. In those instances where comparisons are made, therefore, they will be made in terms of the future educational status aspired to by students of varying racial, educational and social class backgrounds.

A noticeable "gap" is apparent when the educational aspirations and expectations of elementary schools students are compared. The findings reveal that a majority of sixth graders of both racial groups hope to attend college, but a surprisingly small percentage actually expect to do so (Table 3.5.27). As was the case when their occupational aspirations and expectations were investigated, the "gap" is greater for Negro than for white students.

The pattern exhibited by high school seniors is slightly different. A large majority of the seniors also hope to continue their education beyond high school (Table 3.5.28). When they were asked to choose what they would like to do immediately following their graduation, most of the seniors chose some form of educational training rather than going directly to work or into military service (Table 3.5.29). Most, moreover, expect to fulfill there aspirations (Table 3.5.29). Differences do exist between seniors along these dimensions, however, and these differences seem to be due to racial considerations. The first major difference is that Negro students tend to prefer the more vocational forms of higher education provided by business, technical and nursing schools. In contrast, white students hope more often to receive college degrees or to work toward a graduate degree. Secondly, there is a much greater discrepancy between the educational aspirations and expectations of Negro seniors. This, of course, is in agreement with the findings concerning elementary school students. It is suggested, once more, that Negro youth are encouraged by their families to place a very imporatnt value on educational achievements and lofty educational goals. However, the discouraging experiences associated with the school and the discriminatory practices that are apparent in the larger community work to depress their expectations.

The findings indicate that the racial composition of the school has the same effect on educational aspirations and expectations as it did on occupational desires and plans. A student's educational aspirations were not influenced by the proportion of Negroes in the school.

---

[3] Responses to these questions include a combination of educational and occupational choices. The occupational choices are not for specific occupations, however, but only refer to obtaining a job or entering the military. The responses pertaining to educational goals could be ranked according to status, those pertaining to jobs seemed only to be alternatives to further education.

TABLE 3.5.27

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS

(Percent)

	ASPIRATIONS			EXPECTATIONS		
	White	Negro	N	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Less than High School	4.6	4.3	108	6.8	10.0	198
High School graduation	21.4	24.8	555	37.3	46.7	995
College attendance	74.1	70.9	1766	55.8	43.3	1212
N	1377	1052	2429	1359	1046	2405

TABLE 3.5.28

EDUCATION ASPIRATIONS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS

(Percent)

	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0	
High School graduation	16.5	13.5	244
Business, Technical*	19.5	32.2	326
College - 1-3 years	10.7	11.3	164
College - 4 years	29.7	28.3	449
Graduate degree	23.7	14.8	341
N	1294	230	1524

*Business, Technical also includes nursing school.

TABLE 3.5.29

AFTER HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION CHOICES AND EXPECTATIONS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS

(Percent)

	CHOICES			EXPECTATIONS		
	White	Negro	N	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Job & part-time college	6.1	11.7	108	5.3	11.3	97
College - 1-3 years	6.4	7.9	104	6.8	8.4	110
College - 4 years	50.5	38.1	758	45.5	26.9	666
Business, technical	11.8	18.0	199	11.1	17.2	188
Full-time job	15.3	16.3	241	20.8	24.8	334
Part-time job	0.4	0.4	6	0.5	1.3	9
Military	4.4	4.2	68	5.8	7.1	94
Any job available	NA**	NA	-	0.5	0.0	7
Not find a job	NA	NA	-	0.2	0.0	3
Other*	5.2	3.3	77	3.6	2.9	54
N	1322	239	1561	1323	238	1561

*Most of the Other responses are girls planning to be married.

**These responses were not applicable to after high school graduation choices.

However, as the proportion of Negroes in a school increases, the educational expectations of students decrease. This pattern is found among both elementary school students (Tables 3.5.30 and 3.5.31) and high school students (Tables 3.5.32, 3.5.33 and 3.5.34). As was the case when occupational aspirations and expectations were considered, the results reveal that the desire for high educational status and the actual expectation of attainment in this area were dampened when the group being considered was a distinct numerical minority in a school. It seems, therefore, that both complete de facto racial segregation and "token" integration are detrimental to the development of optimistic plans for a student's educational future. Optimistic expectations would certainly seem important in giving meaning to the student's current academic work and to developing the attitudes that would assure high educational status in later life.

The educational aspirations and expectations of the students from the schools of Connecticut's major cities are positively related to the occupational status of their fathers. This is true for both grade school (Tables 3.5.35 and 3.5.36) and high school (Tables 3.5.37, 3.5.38, and 3.5.39) pupils. As was true in regard to their occupational expectations, the educational plans of all students are more greatly influenced by their family's social class than are their educational aspirations. The overriding significance of being a Negro in American society is again attested to by the fact that social class considerations seem much more important in accounting for differences in the educational aspirations and expectations of whites than of Negroes. The evidence seems to point more and more to a relatively distinct Negro subculture with values which seem more "realistically" adjusted to the facts of discrimination, racial exploitation, etc., in the larger society. While this subculture may provide solutions to the many frustrations and anxieties that Negroes encounter in dealing with this larger white dominated society, it would seem a tenuous solution at best.

In general, the findings reveal that children who have well-educated fathers have the highest aspirations for and expectations of educational status. The importance of this channel of mobility to future occupational status is, seemingly, readily transmitted to the younger generation by highly educated parents, and their children come to identify with the values associated with high educational status. This is the same for students in both elementary schools (Tables 3.5.40 and 3.5.41), and high schools (Tables 3.5.42, 3.5.43, and 3.5.44). It is interesting that the educational status of a student's father affects aspirations in much the same way as it affects educational expectations. The student's educational background appears to have, therefore, a more consistent influence than the student's social class background which was analyzed earlier.

TABLE 3.5.30

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Less than high school	5.1	3.1	4.0	5.9	10.0	63	9.4	4.3	4.6	3.0	4.5	45
High school graduation	19.5	21.7	23.0	19.3	40.0	294	31.3	29.0	20.3	23.3	25.8	261
College attendance	75.4	75.1	73.0	74.8	50.0	1020	59.4	66.7	75.2	73.7	69.7	746
N	568	382	252	135	40	1377	32	93	153	266	508	1052

TABLE 3.5.31

EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Less than high school	6.8	5.0	8.1	7.5	15.0	93	6.3	10.6	14.0	9.8	9.1	105
High school graduation	33.9	38.7	38.5	40.6	52.5	507	34.4	44.7	41.3	41.5	52.1	488
College attendance	59.2	56.3	53.4	51.9	32.5	759	59.4	44.7	44.7	48.7	38.8	453
N	557	382	247	133	40	1359	32	94	150	265	505	1046

TABLE 3.5.32

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
High school graduation	20.5	11.6	19.2	18.6	20.5	213	66.7	16.2	6.3	15.1	11.1	31
Business, technical	23.2	18.4	25.6	15.2	12.8	252	0.0	27.0	41.7	26.4	44.4	74
College - 1-3 years	14.6	8.4	11.7	11.7	5.1	138	0.0	5.4	16.7	14.2	2.8	26
College - 4 years	25.8	33.3	22.4	33.2	20.5	384	0.0	29.7	25.0	28.3	33.3	65
Graduate degree	15.9	28.3	21.0	21.2	41.0	307	33.3	21.6	10.4	16.0	8.3	34
N	151	474	281	349	39	1294	3	37	48	106	36	230

TABLE 3.5.33

AFTER HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION CHOICES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Job & Part-time college	7.4	4.6	4.2	9.0	5.1	80	0.0	5.1	14.0	12.7	13.5	28
College - 1-3 years	6.8	5.6	7.0	6.5	10.3	85	0.0	5.1	8.0	6.4	16.2	19
College - 4 years	40.1	59.0	43.4	49.3	51.3	667	33.3	51.3	36.0	39.1	24.3	91
Business, technical	11.1	12.1	15.4	9.9	2.6	156	0.0	17.9	24.0	15.5	18.9	43
Full-time job	19.8	10.2	18.9	16.3	23.1	202	33.3	12.8	12.0	17.3	21.6	39
Part-time job	0.0	0.6	0.7	0.0	0.0	5	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	1
Military	7.4	3.1	4.5	4.8	2.6	58	33.3	2.6	2.0	5.5	2.7	10
Other	7.4	4.8	5.9	4.2	5.1	69	0.0	5.1	2.0	3.6	2.7	8
N	162	480	286	355	39	1322	3	39	50	110	37	239

TABLE 3.5.34

AFTER HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION EXPECTATIONS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Job & Part-time college	5.6	4.8	2.8	7.9	5.1	70	0.0	2.6	12.2	13.6	13.5	27
College - 1-3 years	7.4	6.7	9.0	4.8	7.7	90	0.0	10.3	12.2	4.5	13.5	20
College - 4 years	36.4	54.3	36.0	45.8	43.6	602	33.3	41.0	18.4	30.0	13.5	64
Business, technical	11.7	11.3	14.9	7.9	7.7	147	0.0	10.3	28.6	14.5	18.9	41
Full-time job	21.6	14.2	26.3	24.3	25.6	275	33.3	25.6	20.4	25.5	27.0	59
Part-time job	0.6	0.4	1.0	0.0	0.0	6	0.0	0.0	4.1	0.0	2.7	3
Military	9.9	4.0	6.2	6.5	2.6	77	33.3	7.7	4.1	7.3	8.1	17
Any job available	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.0	6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
Not find a job	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.0	3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
Other	6.2	3.8	3.1	2.0	7.7	47	0.0	2.6	0.0	4.5	2.7	7
N	162	479	289	354	39	1323	3	39	49	110	37	238

TABLE 3.5.35

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	Profes- sional	Cleri- cal	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	N	Profes- sional	Cleri- cal	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Less than high school	2.2	0.0	4.1	4.9	5.7	42	4.0	5.7	2.6	2.4	5.6	21
High school graduation	6.0	15.4	20.5	26.4	23.3	222	8.0	20.0	19.7	24.0	22.9	134
College attendance	91.8	84.6	75.4	68.7	71.1	863	88.0	74.3	77.8	73.5	71.5	453
N	184	143	293	348	159	1127	25	35	117	287	144	608

TABLE 3.5.36

EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Less than high school	2.8	4.2	6.6	8.4	6.4	69	8.3	8.6	13.8	6.4	6.9	49
High school graduation	14.9	26.8	34.9	45.9	48.4	400	20.8	37.1	37.1	47.5	50.7	268
College attendance	82.3	69.0	58.5	45.6	45.2	644	70.8	54.3	49.1	46.1	42.4	284
N	181	142	289	344	157	1113	24	35	116	282	144	601

TABLE 3.5.37

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-Skilled	Un-Skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
High school graduation	5.0	12.2	20.8	23.5	28.2	177	13.0	0.0	25.0	6.3	11.1	21
Business, technical	10.0	17.6	22.1	30.9	19.4	215	17.4	38.5	25.0	30.2	30.6	49
College - 1-3 years	10.3	9.5	11.8	7.8	9.7	114	17.4	15.4	17.5	14.3	5.6	24
College - 4 years	38.2	36.5	25.6	22.6	29.1	352	17.4	23.1	30.0	39.7	33.3	56
Graduate degree	36.6	24.3	19.7	15.2	13.6	279	34.8	23.1	2.5	9.5	19.4	25
N	380	148	289	217	103	1137	23	13	40	63	36	175

TABLE 3.5.38

AFTER HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION CHOICES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Job & part-time college	3.4	6.7	7.7	4.9	2.9	60	8.3	0.0	19.5	16.7	5.3	23
College - 1-3 years	7.0	4.0	7.7	4.4	8.7	75	8.3	15.4	9.8	13.6	5.3	19
College - 4 years	71.5	57.7	39.9	38.1	44.7	613	50.0	46.2	29.3	42.4	39.5	73
Business, technical	7.5	12.1	10.7	19.0	11.7	134	12.5	38.5	14.6	10.6	26.3	31
Full-time job	5.2	10.7	21.5	21.2	22.3	171	12.5	0.0	19.5	9.1	21.1	25
Part-time job	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.9	0.0	4	0.0	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	1
Military	0.8	3.4	6.0	6.6	5.8	47	4.2	0.0	2.4	1.5	2.6	4
Other*	4.7	5.4	5.7	4.9	3.9	58	4.2	0.0	2.4	6.1	0.0	6
N	386	149	298	226	103	1162	24	13	41	66	38	182

---

*Most of the other responses are girls planning to be married.

TABLE 3.5.39

AFTER HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION EXPECTATIONS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Job & part-time college	3.6	4.7	7.4	4.9	1.9	56	8.3	15.4	9.8	15.4	7.9	21
College - 1-3 years	8.8	2.7	6.0	5.8	8.7	78	12.5	23.1	9.8	6.2	13.2	19
College - 4 years	67.4	52.7	36.2	31.7	38.8	558	37.5	23.1	17.1	40.0	21.1	53
Business, technical	9.1	9.3	9.4	17.9	8.7	126	8.3	38.5	17.1	9.2	23.7	29
Full-time job	7.3	20.7	26.8	27.7	28.2	230	25.0	0.0	29.3	21.5	26.3	42
Part-time job	0.3	0.0	1.0	0.4	0.0	5	0.0	0.0	4.9	0.0	0.0	2
Military	1.6	6.0	7.4	8.5	7.8	64	8.3	0.0	7.3	1.5	7.9	9
Any job available	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.4	1.0	4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
Not find job	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.4	0.0	2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
Other	1.8	4.0	5.0	2.2	4.9	38	0.0	0.0	4.9	6.2	0.0	6
N	386	150	298	224	103	1161	24	13	41	65	38	181

TABLE 3.5.40

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Less than high school	6.3	3.5	3.3	41	3.6	3.2	5.2	21
High school graduation	24.3	22.2	2.5	171	26.1	25.8	12.7	125
College attendance	69.4	74.3	94.2	749	70.3	71.0	82.1	405
N	268	451	242	961	165	252	134	551

TABLE 3.5.41

EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Less than high school	9.6	4.3	3.3	53	7.9	6.0	14.9	48
High school graduation	44.8	37.6	13.4	320	48.8	51.0	28.4	246
College attendance	45.6	58.1	83.3	580	43.3	43.0	56.7	255
N	270	444	239	953	164	251	134	549

TABLE 3.5.42

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
High school graduation	22.4	14.9	4.4	174	8.9	14.5	6.7	19
Business, technical	24.6	19.0	9.9	218	31.7	27.3	23.3	54
College, 1-3 years	10.3	10.4	9.3	118	10.9	10.9	16.7	22
College, 4 years	25.3	30.1	40.8	369	32.7	36.4	23.3	60
Graduate degree	17.4	25.6	35.6	297	15.8	10.9	30.0	31
N	495	316	365	1176	101	55	30	186

TABLE 3.5.43

AFTER HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION CHOICES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Job & part-time college	6.0	6.9	4.8	71	13.2	12.7	13.3	25
College - 1-3 years	7.4	7.6	4.8	80	10.4	3.6	13.3	17
College - 4 years	39.8	51.4	73.1	639	43.4	36.4	53.3	82
Business, technical	15.6	11.7	6.2	140	15.1	21.8	6.7	30
Full-time job	21.1	13.6	5.1	170	14.2	14.5	6.7	25
Part-time job	0.8	0.0	0.0	4	0.9	0.0	0.0	1
Military	4.9	2.8	2.4	43	0.9	5.5	6.7	6
Other	4.5	6.0	3.5	55	1.9	5.5	0.0	5
N	513	317	372	1202	106	55	30	191

TABLE 3.5.44

AFTER HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION EXPECTATIONS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Job & part-time college	6.3	5.7	4.0	65	10.5	7.3	20.0	21
College - 1-3 years	5.9	6.9	8.3	83	10.5	5.5	16.7	19
College - 4 years	33.5	49.8	67.9	583	30.5	32.7	40.0	62
Business, technical	15.1	9.8	6.7	133	13.3	23.6	13.3	31
Full-time job	27.8	18.0	8.0	229	27.6	18.2	6.7	41
Part-time job	0.6	0.6	0.0	5	1.9	1.8	0.0	3
Military	6.3	5.0	2.4	57	4.8	7.3	3.3	10
Any job available	0.6	0.9	0.0	6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
Not find a job	0.0	0.0	0.8	3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
Other	4.1	3.2	1.9	38	1.0	3.6	0.0	3
N	511	317	374	1202	105	55	30	190

It should be noted, moreover, that the educational background of students continues to influence the educational aspirations and expectations of whites more strongly than Negroes. This is added confirmation to the notion of a Negro subculture. Lastly, another finding that is peculiar to Negro students pertains to the educational hopes and plans of Negro elementary school pupils who have well-educated fathers. The results indicate that these students are likely to have very depressed perceptions of their educational attainments in the future. Although the data are certainly fragmented, the results suggest a rather significant disillusionment with their chances in life.

The cultural stimulation provided by a school seems to provide some slight influence on the educational aspirations and expectations of the students included in the present study. This is especially true for students who attend elementary schools (Tables 3.5.45 and 3.5.46) and high schools (Tables 3.5.47, 3.5.48, and 3.5.49) which are particularly affluent and stimulating. However, the differences in the aspirations and expectations of students between schools is not large. It is rather significant that the educational hopes and desires of white students seem to be more influenced by this aspect of the school climate than are Negro students.

As was done in previous sections and chapters of this report, a multivariate analysis is used in an attempt to identify the type of student who is most affected by de facto school segregation. When the racial composition of the school and the social class position of the students are related to the educational aspirations and expectations of pupils it was found that segregated schools have a more detrimental effect on the educational hopes and plans of students from blue-collar backgrounds than on those from white-collar backgrounds. The data indicate that this is the case in both grade schools (Tables 3.5.50 and 3.5.51) and high schools (Tables 3.5.52, 3.5.53, and 3.5.54). It is significant in this regard that the Negro students who are most adversely affected by attending exclusively white schools are also children of working class families. Variations in the racial composition of the schools, therefore, seem less influential in the case of those children who come from upper class backgrounds. Perhaps the support they receive from their families with regard to their lofty educational hopes and plans far outweighs any influence of their measure of the school climate.

When the racial composition of the school and the educational backgrounds of the students' fathers are examined in relation to a pupil's educational aspirations and expectations, one rather interesting finding is revealed. That is, it seems that as the proportion of Negroes in the school increases, the differences in educational background between Negro students become relatively unimportant in explaining their educational aspirations. There is, in other words, a "leveling" of the educational aspirations of Negro students in predominantly Negro schools. This is the case in both elementary schools (Tables 3.5.55 and 3.5.56) and high schools (Tables 3.5.57, 3.5.58, and 3.5.59).

TABLE 3.5.45

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS											
	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Less than high school	4.8	5.6	7.0	5.3	2.0	63	5.4	3.4	2.4	10.4	2.2	45
High school graduation	25.9	29.4	28.4	19.1	14.3	294	32.7	21.7	24.4	22.6	16.5	261
College attendance	69.3	65.0	64.6	75.6	83.7	1020	61.9	74.9	73.2	67.0	81.3	746
N	189	160	229	393	406	1377	260	295	291	115	91	1052

TABLE 3.5.46

EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS											
	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Less than high school	9.6	7.5	10.1	6.5	3.7	93	13.1	8.6	9.0	11.3	7.6	105
High school graduation	46.0	40.3	46.3	35.2	29.0	507	49.8	46.0	49.7	45.2	31.5	488
College attendance	44.4	52.2	43.6	58.3	67.2	759	37.1	45.4	41.4	43.5	60.9	454
N	187	159	227	386	400	1359	259	291	290	115	92	1047

TABLE 3.5.47

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS									
	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
High school graduation	22.9	20.6	12.3	13.6	213	13.7	14.8	11.4	25.0	31
Business, technical	17.7	24.7	18.4	14.9	252	35.0	31.5	29.5	37.5	74
College - 1-3 years	13.0	14.4	8.4	7.7	138	8.7	14.8	12.5	0.0	26
College - 4 years	26.6	22.2	33.8	35.3	384	28.7	27.8	29.5	12.5	65
Graduate degree	19.8	18.2	27.1	28.5	307	13.7	11.1	17.0	25.0	34
N	192	369	512	221	1294	80	54	88	8	230

TABLE 3.5.48

AFTER HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION CHOICES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS									
	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Job & Part-time college	8.2	8.1	4.2	4.9	80	8.3	18.2	11.1	10.0	28
College - 1-3 years	8.2	8.4	5.4	4.0	85	10.7	5.5	6.7	10.0	19
College - 4 years	41.5	37.1	59.0	61.3	667	33.3	32.7	46.7	30.0	91
Business, technical	10.8	13.3	11.2	11.6	156	21.4	12.7	18.9	10.0	43
Full-time job	23.1	19.3	11.0	11.6	202	21.4	14.5	11.1	30.0	39
Part-time job	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.9	5	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	1
Military	4.6	5.2	3.5	4.9	58	3.6	10.9	1.1	0.0	10
Other	3.6	8.6	5.2	0.9	69	1.2	5.5	3.3	10.0	8
N	195	383	519	225	1322	84	55	90	10	239

TABLE 3.5.49

AFTER HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION EXPECTATIONS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS									
	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Job & part-time college	7.7	6.8	3.9	4.0	70	11.9	14.5	9.0	10.0	27
College - 1-3 years	6.6	7.3	6.8	6.2	90	10.7	5.5	7.9	10.0	20
College - 4 years	33.7	33.1	54.6	56.0	602	21.4	23.6	34.8	20.0	64
Business, technical	11.7	13.5	9.5	10.2	147	19.0	14.5	18.0	10.0	41
Full-time job	29.1	25.3	17.0	14.7	275	25.0	25.5	22.5	40.0	59
Part-time job	0.0	0.5	0.6	0.4	6	2.4	0.0	1.1	0.0	3
Military	8.2	6.8	4.1	6.2	77	8.3	12.7	2.2	10.0	17
Any job available	0.0	0.5	0.6	0.4	6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
Not find a job	0.0	0.5	0.2	0.0	3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
Other	3.1	5.7	2.9	1.8	47	1.2	3.6	4.5	0.0	7
N	196	384	518	225	1323	84	55	89	10	238

TABLE 3.5.50

PERCENTAGE OF SIXTH GRADE PUPILS ASPIRING TO COLLEGE EDUCATIONS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Professional	91.7	91.2	89.5	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	71.4	100.0	90.9
	(120)	(34)	(19)	(8)	(3)	(3)	(2)	(7)	(2)	(11)
Clerical	92.6	75.0	85.2	66.7	100.0	50.0	100.0	0.0	57.1	77.8
	(68)	(32)	(27)	(15)	(1)	(2)	(7)	(1)	(7)	(18)
Skilled	75.2	82.4	70.2	77.8	33.3	75.0	70.0	73.3	81.5	78.7
	(109)	(91)	(57)	(27)	(9)	(4)	(10)	(15)	(27)	(61)
Semi-skilled	65.5	69.1	71.8	76.3	50.0	40.0	62.5	81.0	75.2	73.3
	(119)	(110)	(71)	(38)	(10)	(10)	(24)	(58)	(105)	(90)
Unskilled	62.3	82.9	78.6	75.0	66.7	50.0	78.6	73.3	69.4	71.4
	(77)	(35)	(28)	(16)	(3)	(2)	(14)	(15)	(36)	(77)

TABLE 3.5.51

PERCENTAGE OF SIXTH GRADE PUPILS EXPECTING COLLEGE EDUCATIONS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Professional	83.9	72.7	94.4	66.7	100.0	100.0	100.0	71.4	100.0	54.5
	(118)	(33)	(18)	(9)	(3)	(3)	(2)	(7)	(1)	(11)
Clerical	77.6	59.4	59.3	66.7	100.0	100.0	57.1	0.0	57.1	50.0
	(67)	(32)	(27)	(15)	(1)	(2)	(7)	(1)	(7)	(18)
Skilled	62.9	57.6	63.2	50.0	11.1	75.0	40.0	46.7	59.3	45.0
	(105)	(92)	(57)	(26)	(9)	(4)	(10)	(15)	(27)	(60)
Semi-skilled	40.2	52.3	40.0	55.3	40.0	50.0	41.7	41.8	51.4	43.2
	(117)	(109)	(70)	(38)	(10)	(10)	(24)	(55)	(105)	(88)
Unskilled	37.7	57.1	59.3	33.3	33.3	50.0	50.0	66.7	36.1	39.0
	(77)	(35)	(27)	(15)	(3)	(2)	(14)	(15)	(36)	(77)

TABLE 3.5.52

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS ASPIRING TO AT LEAST FOUR YEARS OF COLLEGE WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Professional	55.5 (27)	79.9 (199)	62.7 (59)	75.9 (87)	87.5 (8)	--- (0)	33.3 (6)	50.4 (4)	54.6 (11)	100.0 (2)
Clerical	47.6 (21)	62.2 (45)	48.4 (31)	72.9 (48)	66.7 (3)	--- (0)	33.3 (3)	40.0 (5)	60.0 (5)	--- (0)
Skilled	39.5 (43)	52.5 (99)	37.3 (59)	41.6 (77)	72.7 (11)	--- (0)	33.3 (6)	50.0 (10)	29.4 (17)	14.3 (7)
Semi-skilled	30.4 (23)	44.7 (56)	32.2 (62)	39.4 (71)	40.0 (5)	100.0 (1)	77.8 (9)	40.0 (10)	48.6 (35)	25.0 (8)
Unskilled	56.3 (16)	40.7 (27)	44.8 (29)	37.0 (27)	25.0 (4)	--- (0)	62.5 (8)	37.8 (8)	63.7 (11)	44.4 (9)

TABLE 3.5.53

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHOSE AFTER HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION CHOICE IS TO ATTEND COLLEGE FULL TIME FOR FOUR YEARS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Professional	50.0	77.6	63.3	69.7	85.7	---	33.3	50.0	58.3	14.3
	(28)	(201)	(60)	(89)	(8)	(0)	(6)	(4)	(12)	(2)
Clerical	47.6	58.7	53.1	66.0	33.3	---	33.3	40.0	60.0	---
	(21)	(46)	(32)	(47)	(3)	(0)	(3)	(5)	(5)	(0)
Skilled	43.5	46.5	29.5	35.4	54.5	---	33.3	45.5	29.4	0.0
	(46)	(101)	(61)	(79)	(11)	(0)	(6)	(11)	(17)	(7)
Semi-skilled	25.0	41.4	38.1	66.7	60.0	100.0	80.0	40.0	33.3	12.5
	(28)	(58)	(63)	(72)	(5)	(1)	(10)	(10)	(37)	(8)
Unskilled	52.9	51.9	42.9	37.0	25.0	---	62.5	22.2	41.7	33.3
	(17)	(27)	(28)	(27)	(4)	(0)	(8)	(9)	(12)	(9)

TABLE 3.5.54

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHOSE AFTER HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION EXPECTATION IS TO ATTEND COLLEGE FULL TIME FOR FOUR YEARS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Professional	42.9	74.1	58.3	65.2	75.0	---	33.3	0.0	50.0	50.0
	(28)	(201)	(60)	(89)	(8)	(0)	(6)	(4)	(12)	(2)
Clerical	38.1	54.3	50.0	62.5	0.0	---	33.3	20.0	20.0	---
	(21)	(46)	(32)	(48)	(3)	(0)	(3)	(5)	(5)	(0)
Skilled	41.3	44.0	21.0	32.9	54.5	---	16.7	36.4	11.8	0.0
	(46)	(100)	(62)	(79)	(11)	(0)	(6)	(11)	(17)	(7)
Semi-skilled	21.4	34.5	28.6	34.3	60.0	100.0	60.0	33.3	40.5	12.5
	(28)	(58)	(63)	(70)	(5)	(1)	(10)	(9)	(37)	(8)
Unskilled	52.9	40.7	35.7	33.3	25.0	---	62.5	0.0	25.0	0.0
	(17)	(27)	(28)	(27)	(4)	(0)	(8)	(9)	(12)	(9)

TABLE 3.5.55

PERCENTAGE OF SIXTH GRADE PUPILS ASPIRING TO COLLEGE EDUCATIONS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Less than High School	68.9 (103)	73.9 (69)	62.7 (56)	75.9 (34)	87.5 (6)	20.0 (5)	72.2 (18)	66.7 (21)	76.2 (42)	70.9 (79)
High School graduate	73.8 (195)	70.7 (123)	78.9 (76)	87.0 (46)	36.4 (11)	87.5 (8)	68.2 (22)	73.3 (45)	71.6 (67)	69.1 (110)
More than High School	96.5 (143)	96.0 (50)	88.2 (34)	84.6 (13)	50.0 (2)	100.0 (4)	70.0 (10)	90.0 (20)	88.4 (43)	75.4 (57)

TABLE 3.5.56

PERCENTAGE OF SIXTH GRADE PUPILS EXPECTING COLLEGE EDUCATIONS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Less than High School	50.5	52.2	36.8	38.2	14.3	60.0	50.0	38.1	42.9	42.3
	(103)	(69)	(57)	(34)	(7)	(5)	(18)	(21)	(42)	(78)
High School graduate	58.4	52.8	63.5	65.2	45.5	87.5	27.3	50.0	50.7	35.5
	(190)	(123)	(74)	(46)	(11)	(8)	(22)	(44)	(67)	(110)
More than High School	89.3	76.0	76.5	69.2	50.0	100.0	63.6	70.0	62.8	42.9
	(140)	(50)	(34)	(13)	(2)	(4)	(11)	(20)	(43)	(56)

TABLE 3.5.57

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS ASPIRING TO AT LEAST FOUR YEARS OF COLLEGE WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Less than High School	31.2	43.0	40.0	48.7	53.9	---	68.8	37.9	54.4	20.0
	(64)	(137)	(135)	(146)	(13)	(0)	(16)	(29)	(46)	(10)
High School graduate	52.7	60.1	46.0	57.2	57.1	---	54.6	44.4	44.4	50.0
	(55)	(113)	(50)	(84)	(14)	(0)	(11)	(9)	(27)	(8)
More than High School	60.0	81.0	67.8	75.5	85.7	100.0	50.0	25.0	56.3	57.2
	(20)	(189)	(59)	(90)	(7)	(1)	(2)	(4)	(16)	(7)

TABLE 3.5.58

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHOSE AFTER HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION CHOICE IS TO ATTEND COLLEGE FULL TIME FOR FOUR YEARS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Less than High School	30.1	42.4	39.0	42.9	38.5	---	64.7	33.3	46.9	20.0
	(73)	(139)	(141)	(147)	(13)	(0)	(17)	(30)	(49)	(10)
High School graduate	54.5	54.9	44.9	48.8	50.0	---	54.5	55.6	33.3	0.0
	(55)	(113)	(49)	(86)	(14)	(0)	(11)	(9)	(27)	(8)
More than High School	57.1	78.2	65.0	70.3	85.7	100.0	50.0	25.0	62.5	42.9
	(21)	(193)	(60)	(91)	(7)	(1)	(2)	(4)	(16)	(7)

TABLE 3.5.59

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHOSE AFTER HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION EXPECTATIONS IS TO ATTEND COLLEGE FULL TIME FOR FOUR YEARS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Less than High School	27.4	34.8	31.7	37.2	30.8	---	47.1	20.7	32.7	20.0
	(73)	(138)	(142)	(145)	(13)	(0)	(17)	(29)	(49)	(10)
High School graduate	49.1	54.0	36.7	52.3	50.0	---	54.5	22.2	37.0	0.0
	(55)	(113)	(49)	(86)	(14)	(0)	(11)	(9)	(27)	(8)
More than High School	57.1	73.6	59.0	64.1	71.4	100.0	50.0	25.0	43.8	28.6
	(21)	(193)	(61)	(92)	(7)	(1)	(2)	(4)	(16)	(7)

Another way of measuring the educational expectations of high school seniors is to ask if they plan to attend college at any time in the future. It is possible, however, that these "expectations" merely reflect the desires of students. Therefore, to see whether or not students had taken any concrete action to bring about these expectations, they were asked whether or not they had applied for college admission. It is assumed that this last question would be the most realistic estimate of students' actual educational intentions. These two measures of educational expectations of high school seniors are compared in the following section.

As expected from earlier findings, a majority of the seniors plan to attend college (Table 3.5.60). The major difference between the races is that white seniors are more often sure they will attend college, and Negroes are a little more likely to be undecided or unsure. A smaller percentage of seniors have applied for admission than the proportion who plan to attend college (Table 3.5.61). The discrepancy between Negro and white pupils is larger for this measure of educational expectation than for previous measures. Thus it would seem that the closer to reality the measures of educational aspirations and expectations come, the greater the difference between the races. What is perhaps the most encouraging, however, is the large percentage of students of each race who say that they have applied for college admittance.

The racial composition of a high school does not seem to have any consistent effect on the percentage of white students who plan to attend college (Table 3.5.62) nor on the proportion who have applied for admission (Table 3.5.63). For Negro seniors, however, both college plans and applications for admission decrease as the percentage of Negroes in the school increase. Segregated schools are detrimental, then, not only to the stated educational plans of Negro seniors but to the implementation of these expectations. By negatively affecting this implementation, it seems that segregated schools limit the educational success which their Negro graduates can attain.

Family background should be very important in influencing a student to plan for and apply to college. For seniors of both races, the higher the occupational status of fathers, the more likely it is that their children will plan to go to college (Table 3.5.64) and that they will have applied for admission (Table 3.5.65). Once again, it is found that the occupational status of a student's father has more influence on the educational expectations of white students than of Negroes. This is especially true in terms of the more realistic measure of college applications. Even for Negroes, however, a student's social class position makes as much difference as does the racial composition of the school he attends.

TABLE 3.5.60

COLLEGE PLANS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS

"Do you plan to go to college anytime in the future?"
(Percent)

	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0	
Plans college	66.4	58.0	1018
Undecided	13.5	21.8	231
Does not plan college	20.1	20.2	315
N	1326	238	1564

TABLE 3.5.61

APPLICATIONS TO COLLEGE FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS

"Have you sent in any applications for college?"
(Percent)

	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0	
Has applied	61.6	48.3	932
Has not applied	38.4	51.7	632
N	1326	238	1564

TABLE 3.5.62

COLLEGE PLANS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Plans college	65.6	73.2	55.7	66.2	66.7	880	33.3	69.2	53.1	60.9	45.9	138
Undecided	11.7	10.9	15.8	15.2	20.5	179	33.3	17.9	20.4	22.7	24.3	52
Does not plan college	22.7	15.9	28.5	18.6	12.8	267	33.3	12.8	26.5	16.4	29.7	48
N	163	478	291	355	39	1326	3	39	49	110	37	238

TABLE 3.5.63

APPLICATIONS TO COLLEGE FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Has applied	57.1	68.7	54.5	59.4	66.7	817	33.3	59.0	44.9	51.8	32.4	115
Has not applied	42.9	31.3	45.5	40.6	33.3	509	66.7	41.0	55.1	48.2	67.6	123
N	163	479	290	355	39	1326	3	39	49	110	37	238

TABLE 3.5.64

COLLEGE PLANS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	Profes- sional	Cleri- cal	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	N	Profes- sional	Cleri- cal	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Plans college	85.3	68.0	59.5	53.3	59.2	792	75.0	69.2	58.5	69.2	42.1	112
Undecided	5.7	16.0	16.1	17.8	14.6	149	4.2	15.4	24.4	15.4	31.6	35
Does not plan college	9.0	16.0	24.4	28.9	26.2	224	20.8	15.4	17.1	15.4	26.3	34
N	388	150	299	225	103	1165	24	13	41	65	38	181

TABLE 3.5.65

APPLICATIONS TO COLLEGE FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	Profes- sional	Cleri- cal	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	N	Profes- sional	Cleri cal	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Has applied	82.2	67.3	53.8	47.1	55.9	744	66.7	69.2	46.3	53.8	39.5	94
Has not applied	17.8	32.7	46.2	52.9	44.1	420	33.3	30.8	53.7	46.2	60.5	87
N	388	150	299	225	102	1164	24	13	41	65	38	181

Another measure of family status, the educational attainment of a student's father, also affects college plans (Table 3.5.66) and the proportion of students who have applied for admission (Table 3.5.67). Again, the relationship is more evident among white seniors than among Negroes. The major difference between the two races is due to the fact that the educational attainments of their fathers do not influence Negro students to any great extent. Thus, it is only the few college educated Negro fathers who seem to have a decided positive effect on their children's college plans. For white students, however, each increment in fathers' education is accompanied by a sizeable increase in the proportion of seniors planning to attend college. This might indicate something about the financial and motivational characteristics of each educational level within each race. Perhaps high school graduates are not sufficiently "better off" than nongraduates in the Negro community and cannot, therefore, finance and/or motivate their children's college plans as can white high school graduates.

The cultural stimulation and affluence of a school should also influence the college plans and applications of its students, especially if Wilson's findings [1959] apply to Connecticut seniors. The trend toward an increasing proportion of students planning to attend college (Table 3.5.68) and applying for admission (Table 3.5.69) in more affluent schools is apparent for both races. The percentage of fellow students possessing encyclopedias, however, produces a greater difference in the educational expectations of white than of Negro seniors. Although attending affluent schools would seem to influence Negro pupils to attend college, this influence is not nearly as great as the effect of the students' backgrounds, nor as sizeable as the negative effect of segregated schools. These data would suggest, therefore, that the racial composition of a school is more important to the educational attainment of Negro pupils while the affluence of school climate is more important to white students.

Combining the effects of fathers' occupational status and the racial composition of schools indicates that segregated schools have the most detrimental influence on the college plans (Table 3.5.70) and applications (Table 3.5.71) of Negro children of working class fathers. A similar effect of segregated schools is evident on the college plans (Table 3.5.72) and applications for admission (Table 3.5.73) of Negro seniors whose fathers had little education. Thus it would seem that the students with the least chance for success as a result of their family backgrounds are also those who are most harmed by attending segregated schools. These are the very students to whom public education is supposed to be giving an equal opportunity for educational success.

TABLE 3.5.66

COLLEGE PLANS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Plans college	57.0	70.1	85.6	835	59.0	56.4	83.3	118
Undecided	14.5	12.3	8.8	146	21.9	18.2	16.7	38
Does not plan college	28.5	17.6	5.6	223	19.0	25.5	0.0	34
N	512	318	374	1204	105	55	30	190

TABLE 3.5.67

APPLICATIONS TO COLLEGE FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Has applied	51.6	64.8	82.4	778	51.4	50.9	73.3	104
Has not applied	48.4	35.2	17.6	426	48.6	49.1	26.7	86
N	512	318	374	1204	105	55	30	190

TABLE 3.5.68

COLLEGE PLANS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS									
	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Plans college	57.8	60.0	70.8	74.7	880	52.4	54.5	65.2	60.0	138
Undecided	19.6	14.3	12.2	9.8	179	27.4	27.3	13.5	20.0	52
Does not plan college	22.6	25.7	17.0	15.6	267	20.2	18.2	21.3	20.0	48
N	199	385	517	225	1326	84	55	89	10	238

TABLE 3.5.69

APPLICATIONS TO COLLEGE FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS									
	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Has applied	56.6	52.5	66.2	71.1	817	41.7	49.1	53.9	50.0	115
Has not applied	43.4	47.5	33.8	28.9	509	58.3	50.9	46.1	50.0	123
N	198	385	518	225	1326	84	55	89	10	238

TABLE 3.5.70

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHO PLAN TO ATTEND COLLEGE WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Professional	69.0	88.6	80.3	86.5	87.5	---	50.0	50.0	91.7	100.0
	(29)	(201)	(61)	(89)	(8)	(0)	(6)	(4)	(12)	(2)
Clerical	61.9	71.7	65.6	70.8	33.3	---	33.3	60.0	100.0	---
	(21)	(46)	(32)	(48)	(3)	(0)	(3)	(5)	(5)	(0)
Skilled	70.2	61.0	43.5	62.0	72.7	---	66.7	72.7	52.9	42.9
	(47)	(100)	(62)	(79)	(11)	(0)	(6)	(11)	(17)	(7)
Semi-skilled	53.6	55.2	46.0	57.7	60.0	100.0	100.0	77.8	62.2	50.0
	(28)	(58)	(63)	(71)	(5)	(1)	(10)	(9)	(37)	(8)
Unskilled	87.5	63.0	55.2	40.7	75.0	---	75.0	22.2	41.7	33.3
	(16)	(27)	(29)	(27)	(4)	(0)	(8)	(9)	(12)	(9)

TABLE 3.5.71

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHO HAVE APPLIED TO COLLEGE WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Professional	58.6 (29)	87.6 (201)	75.4 (61)	83.1 (89)	75.0 (8)	--- (0)	50.0 (6)	50.0 (4)	75.0 (12)	100.0 (2)
Clerical	57.1 (21)	65.2 (46)	71.9 (32)	70.8 (48)	66.7 (3)	--- (0)	33.3 (3)	60.0 (5)	100.0 (5)	--- (0)
Skilled	66.0 (47)	58.0 (100)	40.3 (62)	49.4 (79)	72.7 (11)	--- (0)	16.7 (6)	54.5 (11)	58.8 (17)	28.6 (7)
Semi-skilled	50.0 (28)	43.1 (58)	47.6 (63)	47.9 (71)	60.0 (5)	100.0 (1)	80.0 (10)	66.7 (9)	48.6 (37)	25.0 (8)
Unskilled	62.5 (16)	59.3 (27)	57.1 (28)	44.4 (27)	75.0 (4)	--- (0)	75.0 (8)	22.2 (9)	41.7 (12)	22.2 (9)

TABLE 3.5.72

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHO PLAN TO ATTEND COLLEGE WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Less than High School	63.0	56.5	52.8	58.2	61.5	---	94.1	55.2	55.1	30.0
	(73)	(138)	(142)	(146)	(13)	(0)	(17)	(29)	(49)	(10)
High School graduate	69.6	75.2	57.1	70.9	71.4	---	54.5	55.6	66.7	25.0
	(56)	(113)	(49)	(86)	(14)	(0)	(11)	(9)	(27)	(8)
More than High School	81.0	87.5	79.0	87.0	85.7	100.0	50.0	75.0	87.5	85.7
	(21)	(192)	(62)	(92)	(7)	(1)	(2)	(4)	(16)	(7)

TABLE 3.5.73

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHO HAVE APPLIED TO COLLEGE WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Less than High School	54.8	50.7	50.0	52.1	53.8	---	70.6	48.3	51.0	30.0
	(73)	(138)	(142)	(146)	(13)	(0)	(17)	(29)	(49)	(10)
High School graduate	64.3	67.3	61.2	62.8	71.4	---	54.5	44.4	55.6	37.5
	(56)	(113)	(49)	(86)	(14)	(0)	(11)	(9)	(27)	(8)
More than High School	71.4	87.0	75.4	79.3	85.7	100.0	50.0	75.0	81.3	57.1
	(21)	(193)	(61)	(92)	(7)	(1)	(2)	(4)	(16)	(7)

Discussion

One conclusion which can be drawn from the preceding evidence is that there is not as much difference between Negro and white students in their occupational and educational aspirations and expectations as was found in their academic achievement. Whatever the forces are which operate to diminish this achievement among Negro pupils, they do not have as potent an effect on the Negroes' hopes and plans for the future. All students were found to have high hopes for occupational success and educational attainment, Negro pupils only slightly less so than whites. Most students also expect to attain high-status jobs and the educational attributes necessary for these positions, although Negro students acknowledge more often than whites that their hopes may not be fulfilled. In the major cities of Connecticut, then, the majority of students of both races are optimistic concerning their chances of succeeding in the adult world. The despair which often describes the Negroes' perception of life in the ghettoes of large cities [cf. Clark, 1965] does not seem to exist among grade school and high school students in Connecticut's five central cities.[4]

The pessimism which is found among Negro students in the present investigation is partially engendered by their attendance at segregated schools. Although their aspirations for high status occupations and a college education are not affected by attending schools which are predominantly Negro, their expectations definitely are. The evidence presented earlier suggests that it is the predominance of other Negro pupils in the school, rather than the lack of intellectual and cultural stimulation of the other students, which dampens the expectations of Negro students. It must be noted, however, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish the effects of these two measures of school climate. Therefore, this might better be viewed as a result of their combined influence.

The evidence presented in the chapter also suggests that there is a lack of realism among students of both races in terms of what it takes to be a success in the "expert society." The findings reveal that a majority plan to be either professionals or managers in the future. Many of these students, however, were seemingly not aware of the educational qualifications necessary for such high status positions. Most professional and managerial jobs in the "expert society" require at least a college education, if not more. This knowledge was especially absent among Negroes, moreover, who often planned on professional or managerial careers with considerably less than a college education. Segregated Negro schools apparently provide a climate that engenders a lack of realism in this regard. The students in such schools seem to suffer from their lack of contact with children of professional or managerial families who might provide some of this information.

---

[4] The possible bias created by using only students who are still in school and those who are articulate enough to complete questionnaires is acknowledged.

The social origins of students have a considerable effect on their educational and occupational aspirations and expectations. However, this effect is much greater for white students than for Negroes, especially in the early years. An interesting sidelight is that children of high status parents of both races seem better able to ward off the negative effects of the school climate than lower status children. It is the children of low status parents who are most affected by the normative climate of the school, the children to whom education in public school is supposed to give an equal chance to become a success. Thus segregated schools, and concomitantly, those schools where other students are likely to be culturally poor, are most detrimental to low status children who need the most help.

Chapter Six

EFFECTS OF DE FACTO SCHOOL SEGREGATION ON STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THEMSELVES AND THEIR ENVIRONMENT

The attitudes of students toward learning, toward themselves and toward their ability to control their environment are, it is assumed, affected by their experiences in school. In particular, the school climate is expected to have as much effect on these attitudes of students as it was shown to have on their academic achievement and their educational and occupational aspirations. It can be argued, in this regard, that the attitudes of students toward themselves and their environment will determine whether these same students realize their potential.[1] Thus, if a student is not interested in learning, he is not likely to be successful in school regardless of his ability. Likewise, students who depreciate their capabilities cannot be expected to present themselves to others, especially teachers, in a way which would lead to academic achievement. Furthermore, the feeling on the part of students that they cannot control their own destiny may lead them to resign themselves to fate and never strive for success. On the other hand, students of modest abilities would, it is expected, make the most of their endowments if they are characterized by a great interest in learning, a positive self-image, and a belief that man is capable of controlling his own destiny. The racial composition of the school, as one measure of this school climate, would seem to be important to an understanding of these crucial student attitudes.

It is likely that the most dramatic attitudes of students in the schools of Connecticut's five central cities will appear in the predominantly Negro schools in the form of a lack of interest in learning, a negative self-image, and a feeling of helplessness in controlling their future lives. It will be remembered that pupils in these predominantly Negro schools not only receive lower standardized text scores of academic achievement and lower grades, but are also more likely to have teachers who define these pupils as lacking in academic ability, adequate motivation, and interest in school. Considering the importance attached to education by these same students, it would not be surprising to find that any positive attitudes they might have had toward themselves and their future would be destroyed by such psychologically devastating experiences.

---

[1] The Office of Education survey indicated that these attitudes did have substantial effects on the verbal ability scores of students [Coleman, et al., 1966:319-325].

The social origins of students are expected to exert as strong an influence on these particular attitudes as the racial composition of the schools. It is important, therefore, to examine the effects of their educational and social class background. Since, however, these characteristics of students were found to affect Negro and white students differently in regard to their level of academic achievement and their educational and occupational aspirations, it was decided to examine the influence of each on the students' attitudes toward themselves and the world around them within racial groups. Moreover, the effect of the cultural affluence of the school climate will again be examined. This factor might be expected to positively influence the attitudes of all students.

The students in the present study were asked a number of questions which provided measures of the underlying dimensions of these attitudes. Thus interest in learning was indicated by a question asking how good a student an individual wishes to be in relation to others in his class.[2] Self-respect is indicated by how intelligent a pupil thinks he is in comparison to others.[3] This measure of the self-concept is supplemented by others which suggest what kind of a person the student believes himself to be, with regard to qualities other than those that are laudatory in the school. The attitudinal measures of interest in learning and self-respect are, obviously, beliefs a student has about himself as an individual. The major measure of a student's attitude in regard to the degree of control he exerts over his future, on the other hand, refers to the student's attitude as a member of a group. This is indicated by a question dealing with how great a chance in life the student thinks "people like him" have.[4] A second and less important measure is provided by the response of students to a question asking whether the pupil feels he will have a hard time getting the right kind of job even with a good education. It is not clear from either question, however, whether students are answering with reference to a group or to which group they refer. In an attempt to find out whether students are, in fact, answering in terms of group membership and also to determine whether pupils feel they control their own lives, students were asked what factors they believe aid advancement. An answer emphasizing hard work would seem to indicate an attitude exhibiting a considerable degree of control over the students' future. On the other hand, a reply of "luck" or "fate" would seem to indicate a lack of such control. Lastly, a student who answers in terms of religion, race or family would seem to indicate just who "people like me" really are.

---

[2] This is one of the measures of interest in learning utilized by the Office of Education survey [Coleman, et al., 1966:278]. This measure seems to produce approximately the same patterns as other measures used in that study.

[3] Self respect is also measured in this way in the Office of Education report [Coleman, et al., 1966:281].

[4] The use of this type of question to measure control over environment is discussed in the Office of Education report [Coleman, et al., 1966:288].

Findings

Interest in Learning

As mentioned earlier, the fact that Negro pupils received generally lower grades than whites, and have lower ability scores, might suggest that white students would exhibit more interest in learning than nonwhites. The Office of Education survey, however, found the opposite to be true for all of their measures of educational interest [Coleman, et al., 1966:278-279]. The evidence in the present investigation supports these findings. Negro students in both the sixth and the twelfth grades were more likely than whites to want to be best in their class (Table 3.6.1). Interest in learning seems to decrease from grade to high school for both races, but this is probably an artifact of the measure itself.[5] The reality of not being best in the class, or even above average, by the second semester of their senior year probably dampens this desire on the part of twelfth graders. The finding that Negro pupils are more likely than whites to want to be best in their class shows, even more clearly than did the relatively high educational and occupational aspirations and expectations of these students, that although their experiences as a minority may depress their verabl ability scores and their grade averages, their interest in succeeding is undiminished.

Segregated schools, however, would still be expected to have a depressing effect on both the Negro and white pupils' interest in learning. Predominantly Negro schools were found to hamper the development of academic achievement and to have some negative effects on the aspriations and expectations of all pupils. The evidence does not support any such effect on the students' interest in learning, however. Students of both races, in both grade school and high school are as likely to want to be best in their class in predominantly Negro schools as in others (Table 3.6.2 and 3.6.3). This is particularly interesting in light of the data presented earlier that teachers in schools with large proportions of Negro pupils are likely to say that their students have no interest in learning.[6] The optimistic outlooks of students in segregated schools apparently overcome the negative opinions of their teachers and their own lack of academic achievement.

---

[5] The Office of Education survey does not find any general diminishing of interest in learning among seniors [Coleman, et al., 1966:278-279].

[6] See Chapter Three, especially Tables 3.3.47 and 3.3.48.

TABLE 3.6.1

INTEREST IN LEARNING FOR SIXTH AND TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS

"How good a student do you want to be in school?"

(Percent)

	SIXTH GRADE			TWELFTH GRADE		
	White	Negro	N	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Best in class	61.9	67.9	1569	33.3	35.7	524
Above the middle	24.2	18.8	531	41.6	38.2	639
In the middle	12.9	11.1	294	18.7	20.6	295
Below the middle	1.0	2.3	38	6.4	5.4	97
N	1377	1055	2432	1317	238	1555

TABLE 3.6.2

INTEREST IN LEARNING FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

"How good a student do you want to be in school?"

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Best in class	60.9	62.6	60.2	67.4	63.4	853	68.8	74.5	58.6	66.7	70.0	716
Above the middle	24.8	23.8	25.1	22.2	19.5	333	28.1	11.7	24.3	20.6	16.9	198
In the middle	13.4	13.1	13.9	7.4	14.6	177	3.1	11.7	14.5	11.2	10.4	117
Below the middle	0.9	0.5	0.8	3.0	2.4	14	0.0	2.1	2.6	1.5	2.7	24
N	568	382	251	135	41	1377	32	94	152	267	510	1055

TABLE 3.6.3

INTEREST IN LEARNING FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

"How good a student do you want to be in school?"

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Best in class	32.5	35.4	31.0	32.9	33.3	439	0.0	36.8	32.0	37.3	37.8	85
Above the middle	37.4	45.0	39.4	40.5	43.6	548	33.3	50.0	42.0	34.5	32.4	91
In the middle	24.5	15.1	21.5	18.7	17.9	246	33.3	10.5	22.0	20.9	27.0	49
Below the middle	5.5	4.6	8.1	7.9	5.1	84	33.3	2.6	4.0	7.3	2.7	13
N	163	478	284	353	39	1317	3	38	50	110	37	238

Students whose parents have high social status would be likely to be more interested in learning than students from lower class backgrounds. It seems that interest in learning and succeeding in the academic realm would more likely be considered virtues by middle and upper class parents. Thus, the occupational status of parents should be related to the wishes of children to be best in their class. Indeed, this relationship is visible in the data from the present survey (Tables 3.6.4 and 3.6.5). The relationship between social class and interest in learning, however, is much more evident among white pupils than among Negroes. As was the case for academic achievement and for educational and occupational aspirations and expectations, occupational status accounts for more variation in the interest in learning of white than of Negro students. Perhaps this is because the socialization of white pupils varies with the occupational status of their parents, while all Negro parents encourage their children to succeed in the academic setting.

In most cases, students seem to reflect their parents' interest in learning. If this assumption is valid, then the students' interest should vary with their fathers' level of educational attainment. If, however, some parents believe that additional education has not brought them all the success that they had expected, their children may be disillusioned by the experiences of their families. Evidence presented in earlier chapters suggested that some Negro children whose fathers had more than high school educations received lower grades, had lower ability scores, and had less expectation of becoming educational and occupational successes than Negro students from less well-educated families. The findings in regard to interest in learning also exhibit this trend (Tables 3.6.6 and 3.6.7). The percentage of students wanting to be best in their class increases with fathers' education for white students but decreases slightly for Negroes, especially for those whose fathers went beyond high school. Perhaps this is due to disillusionment, or it may be just a rational acceptance of reality on the part of these pupils. In either case, the educational background of students accounts for a much greater range of variation among white than among Negro pupils.

It is possible that the cultural affluence of a school climate, measured by the proportion of students having encyclopedias, might have contradictory effects on the educational interest of students. Thus, children in relatively affluent school climates might all be more interested in learning because the atmosphere encourages such interest. On the other hand, pupils with poor backgrounds might feel themselves unable to compete with other students in schools which are culturally stimulating and may, therefore, lose interest in learning--in being the best in their class. The evidence indicates that cultural affluence has little influence on either Negro or white pupils (Tables 3.6.8 and 3.6.9).

TABLE 3.6.4

INTEREST IN LEARNING FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

"How good a student do you want to be in school?"

(Percent)

	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	Profes-sional*	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Best in class	73.0	62.7	64.1	57.7	55.4	703	80.0	68.6	73.9	64.7	73.8	421
Above the middle	19.6	23.9	23.8	26.1	27.4	275	8.0	14.3	16.5	24.5	13.8	116
In the middle	7.4	12.0	11.7	14.8	16.6	143	8.0	17.1	9.6	9.8	11.0	63
Below the middle	0.0	1.4	0.3	1.4	0.6	9	4.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.4	6
N	189	142	290	352	157	1130	25	35	115	286	145	606

[*] Professional includes all professional and managerial positions
Clerical includes all clerical and sales positions
Skilled includes all the trades and technical positions
Semi-skilled includes all the operative positions
Unskilled includes laborers, farm and non-farm

TABLE 3.6.5

INTEREST IN LEARNING FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

"How good a student do you want to be in school?"

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	Professional	Clerical	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	N	Professional	Clerical	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Best in class	41.3	32.0	27.9	28.0	34.6	388	37.5	23.1	34.1	43.1	28.9	65
Above the middle	45.4	50.0	42.3	36.0	38.5	496	41.7	61.5	41.5	35.4	42.1	74
In the middle	9.9	13.3	22.8	28.4	22.1	213	20.8	15.4	17.1	16.9	28.9	36
Below the middle	2.1	2.0	6.0	5.8	4.8	63	0.0	0.0	7.3	4.6	0.0	6
N	383	150	298	225	104	1160	24	13	41	65	38	181

TABLE 3.6.6

INTEREST IN LEARNING FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

"How good a student do you want to be in school?"

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Best in class	60.7	63.1	69.5	618	69.5	71.8	66.7	385
Above the middle	22.4	25.1	22.2	228	14.6	17.9	17.8	93
In the middle	15.4	11.0	7.9	111	14.0	8.3	12.6	61
Below the middle	1.5	0.9	0.4	9	1.8	2.0	3.0	12
N	272	455	239	966	164	252	135	551

TABLE 3.6.7

INTEREST IN LEARNING FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

"How good a student do you want to be in school?"

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Best in the class	28.9	33.9	41.6	409	37.1	36.4	23.3	66
Above the middle	40.4	45.5	44.6	515	32.4	47.3	56.7	77
In the middle	24.4	16.3	9.7	212	25.7	14.5	16.7	40
Below the middle	6.3	4.3	4.0	61	4.8	1.8	3.3	7
N	508	319	370	1197	105	55	30	190

TABLE 3.6.8

INTEREST IN LEARNING FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

"How good a student do you want to be in school?"

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS											
	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Best in class	66.1	58.4	61.9	58.5	64.9	853	67.4	67.1	66.3	76.8	65.6	716
Above the middle	24.7	27.3	22.5	27.6	20.3	333	16.1	20.1	21.0	12.5	22.6	198
In the middle	8.1	12.4	14.3	12.9	14.4	177	13.8	10.7	10.3	10.7	7.5	117
Below the middle	1.1	1.9	1.3	1.0	0.5	14	2.7	2.0	2.4	0.0	4.3	24
N	186	161	231	395	404	1377	261	298	291	112	93	1055

TABLE 3.6.9

INTEREST IN LEARNING FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

"How good a student do you want to be in school?"

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS									
	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Best in class	34.7	26.6	34.6	40.7	439	33.3	38.2	36.7	33.3	85
Above the middle	37.3	41.5	43.3	41.6	548	38.1	36.4	38.9	44.4	91
In the middle	21.8	24.0	16.5	11.9	246	23.8	18.2	20.0	11.1	49
Below the middle	6.3	7.9	5.7	5.8	84	4.8	7.3	4.4	11.1	13
N	193	383	515	226	1317	84	55	90	9	238

8

There is only a slight difference between races, however, [illegible] that Negro students tend to exhibit the least interest in learning in the most affluent schools. These findings seem to indicate that the contradictory forces mentioned above may be cancelling one another out except for the slightly visible effect on Negroes in schools in which they feel unable to compete. It is possible, however, that the intellectual stimulation of fellow students does not have much effect on the interest in learning of individual pupils.

By combining the effects of individual and school characteristics, it might be possible to better specify the factors which lead to an interest in learning. Combining the racial composition of schools and the social class background of students, there seems to be a tendency for the percentage of students wishing to be best in their class to increase with the proportion of Negro students in a school for the children of blue-collar white fathers (Table 3.6.10 and 3.6.11). This trend is particularly noticeable among grade school pupils, less so among high school seniors. No discernible patterns are found among Negro students in either type of school. The social status of parents seems to have somewhat less effect on white pupils who attend predominantly Negro schools than on other white students. It would seem, then, that parents of children attending nonwhite schools are less likely to socialize their children in terms of their own social class backgrounds. On the other hand, it might be the case that differences in parental values would be canceled by the homogenizing influence of these schools on their students.

When the combined influences of educational background of students and the racial composition of their schools are examined it is possible to identify the effect of each on the interest in learning of these pupils. Generally, as the ratio of Negro to white students in a school increases, there is an increase in the interest in learning of children of poorly educated Negro fathers (Tables 3.6.12 and 3.6.13). For the students from better educated Negro families, interest decreases slightly as the proportion of nonwhite students in a school increases. For white students, the pattern changes from grade school to high school. Thus, children of poorly educated fathers express less interest in learning as the ratio of Negro to white pupils increases in grade schools while the relationship is reversed in high schools. It may be that Negro pupils of poorly educated fathers feel more capable of competing with other students in predominantly Negro schools, and less able to compete in schools with larger white enrollments. The switch in interest in learning of white students from sixth to twelfth grade may be due to the fact that grade schools are much more segregated than high schools, or it may be due to the much smaller percentage of seniors who wish to be best in their class. Nevertheless, fathers' education exerts more influence on the interest in learning of white pupils than does the racial composition of their school settings.

TABLE 3.6.10

PERCENTAGE OF SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WHO WISH TO BE BEST IN THE CLASS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Professional	69.9	79.4	84.2	60.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	71.4	100.0	72.7
	(123)*	(34)	(19)	(10)	(3)	(3)	(2)	(7)	(2)	(11)
Clerical	63.2	65.6	61.5	60.0	0.0	50.0	71.4	0.0	71.4	72.2
	(68)	(32)	(26)	(15)	(1)	(2)	(7)	(1)	(7)	(18)
Skilled	57.4	67.0	60.3	87.5	77.8	100.0	60.0	66.7	66.7	79.7
	(108)	(91)	(58)	(24)	(9)	(4)	(10)	(15)	(27)	(59)
Semi-skilled	56.3	51.3	59.7	78.9	50.0	60.0	70.8	52.6	66.3	69.2
	(119)	(113)	(72)	(38)	(10)	(10)	(24)	(57)	(104)	(91)
Unskilled	49.4	72.7	48.1	52.9	100.0	100.0	71.4	73.3	67.6	76.6
	(77)	(33)	(27)	(17)	(3)	(2)	(14)	(15)	(37)	(77)

---

*Numbers in parentheses refer to the number of cases on which the percentages are based.

TABLE 3.6.11

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHO WISH TO BE BEST IN THE CLASS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Professional	35.7	41.0	43.1	39.3	75.0	---	33.3	50.0	41.7	0.0
	(28)	(200)	(58)	(89)	(8)	(0)	(6)	(4)	(12)	(2)
Clerical	28.6	32.6	31.3	33.3	33.3	---	0.0	40.0	20.0	---
	(21)	(46)	(32)	(48)	(3)	(0)	(3)	(5)	(5)	(0)
Skilled	38.3	24.0	22.6	29.5	36.4	---	33.3	36.4	41.2	14.3
	(47	(100)	(62)	(78)	(11)	(0)	(6)	(11)	(17)	(7)
Semi-skilled	17.9	32.8	24.2	31.9	20.0	0.0	33.3	30.0	51.4	37.5
	(28)	(58)	(62)	(72)	(5)	(1)	(9)	(10)	(37)	(8)
Unskilled	47.1	33.3	37.9	25.9	25.0	---	50.0	0.0	25.0	44.4
	(17)	(27)	(29)	(27)	(4)	(0)	(8)	(9)	(12)	(9)

TABLE 3.6.12

PERCENTAGE OF SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WHO WISH TO BE BEST IN THE CLASS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	25-40	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Less than High School	63.5	61.4	56.1	58.8	57.1	60.0	66.7	50.0	75.6	73.1
	(104)	(70)	(57)	(34)	(7)	(5)	(18)	(22)	(41)	(78)
High School graduate	60.9	59.3	63.6	76.6	81.8	87.5	81.8	61.4	73.5	71.8
	(197)	(123)	(77)	(47)	(11)	(8)	(22)	(44)	(68)	(110)
More than High School	65.7	75.5	75.8	66.7	100.0	100.0	63.6	65.0	66.7	64.9
	(143)	(49)	(33)	(12)	(2)	(5)	(11)	(20)	(42)	(57)

TABLE 3.6.13

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHO WISH TO BE BEST IN THE CLASS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Less than High School	27.0	26.8	29.7	31.0	30.8	---	25.0	30.0	44.9	40.0
	(74)	(138)	(138)	(145)	(13)	(0)	(16)	(30)	(49)	(10)
High School graduate	41.8	32.5	32.0	32.6	28.6	---	45.5	33.3	33.3	37.5
	(55)	(114)	(50)	(86)	(14)	(0)	(11)	(9)	(27)	(8)
More than High School	33.3	42.9	40.0	41.8	42.9	0.0	0.0	50.0	18.8	28.6
	(21)	(191)	(60)	(91)	(7)	(1)	(2)	(4)	(16)	(7)

Generally, the level of interest in learning for students of both races remains high regardless of their school experiences or their individual background characteristics. The evidence presented above suggests, however, that the interest of white pupils depends more on their families' backgrounds than does the interest in learning of Negro pupils. Negro students retain more interest in learning than whites, regardless of their school or family experiences. This interest in learning may help to alleviate the roadblocks to future success which consist of their lack of verbal ability and their relatively low grade averages. It may, however, only emphasize to themselves their own deficiencies.

Self Concept

The concept a student has of himself would certainly influence the realization of his potential abilities in the school. The general lack of self-esteem which comes from being a member of a minority group which has long been discriminated against has been documented by a number of authors [cf. Clark, 1955]. In this view, individual members of minority groups are considered by the majority to be inferior and are treated as such. Through this discrimination, they come to see themselves as unworthy. Negro pupils in the schools of Connecticut's five central cities would, as a result, be expected to have less respect for themselves and for their abilities than white students.

Several measures of self-esteem will be used in this investigation.[7] The major measure of self-esteem is how intelligent a pupil thinks he is in comparison with other pupils. This measure seems to have a relatively direct effect on a student's ability to use his skills to the best advantage in furthering his educational and occupational career. As expected, Negro pupils show less self-esteem on this measure than do white pupils (Table 3.6.14). The majority of students of both races rate themselves as average in intelligence, however, suggesting either a lack of self-esteem on the part of most students or a general lack of willingness to consider themselves smarter or superior to others. Coleman [1961] suggests that "the adolescent subculture" found in high schools exerts a general leveling effect on the intellectual interests of fellow students, and the evidence that most pupils consider themselves to be average would seem to be support for this notion. Nevertheless, more than twice the percentage of Negroes as of whites consider themselves to be below average, and more than twice as many whites consider themselves to be one of the smartest or smarter than most. It seems, therefore, that white pupils evaluate their intelligence more highly than Negro students.[8]

---

[7] Unfortunately data to measure self-esteem is available only for twelfth grade pupils. For insight into the self-esteem of sixth graders, see Colfax [1968].

[8] The general lack of respect for their own intelligence on the part of Negro pupils would seem to be directly related to their low scores on I.Q. tests and their relatively low grades. It is difficult, however, to assess which factor causes the other. Certainly lack of respect for one's intelligence could affect one's I.Q. and grades as much as low I.Q. and grades would influence an individual's respect for his intelligence.

TABLE 3.6.14

SELF CONCEPT FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS

"How smart do you think you really are, compared to the other students?"

(Percent)

	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0	
One of the smartest	7.0	2.5	98
Smarter than most	27.7	13.5	394
About average	61.7	75.5	986
Not as smart as most	3.6	8.4	67
N	1308	237	1545

Students who attend predominantly Negro schools, in which teachers define their pupils as lacking in ability, effort, and interest in learning, should exhibit considerably less self-respect than other pupils. The Office of Education survey findings, however, indicated that Negro pupils' self-esteem increased with the ratio of Negro to white pupils [Coleman, et al., 1966:323-324]. The evidence from Connecticut schools indicates the opposite. Negro pupils more often think of themselves as most intelligent in predominantly white schools, and think their intelligence below average most often in schools having a high proportion of nonwhite students (Table 3.6.15). White students, on the other hand, are more likely to believe themselves smarter than others in predominantly Negro schools. For Negro pupils, their estimates of their own intelligence correspond to their ability scores and grades. For white pupils, however, this is not true; white students in predominantly Negro schools have lower I.Q.'s and grade averages than whites in other schools. If white pupils in predominantly Negro schools are comparing themselves with the other students in their schools, however, they do have considerably higher ability scores than the Negro students in these schools. Predominantly Negro schools, therefore, tend to negatively affect the Negro students' respect for their own intelligence and positively affect that of white pupils.

The social class position of students should be positively related to their self-esteem. Students whose fathers have prestigious jobs would be more likely to view themselves with self-respect if, as is assumed, the respect shown by the community to their fathers is mirrored in the children. This relationship might not hold for Negro pupils, however, as their fathers may not receive the same degree of deference even if they hold prestigious occupational positions. In fact, fathers' occupational position and students' self-esteem are positively related for white and Negro students[9] (Table 3.6.16). This may indicate the considerable prestige the Negro community bestows on its white-collar workers. A strong sense of self-respect is then transmitted to their children as a result of this community approval and support. It is possible, also, that even white members of a community grant some respect to white-collar Negro men, which is then bestowed on their children. There is little or no evidence of a comparable degree of respect, however, on the part of teachers for their Negro pupils. The social class position of students, then, does operate to increase their self-respect, in this case, their respect for their academic abilities in relation to others.

The amount of education received by a student's parents would also be expected to influence his conception of himself. Students whose fathers are well educated would be expected to have high self-esteem.

---

[9] The relationship is similar to the one between social class position and ability scores for these pupils (Tables 3.4.8 and 3.4.10).

TABLE 3.6.15

SELF CONCEPT FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

"How smart do you think you really are, compared to the other students?"

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
One of the smartest	5.6	7.4	5.9	7.5	12.8	92	0.0	5.3	2.0	2.7	0.0	6
Smarter than most	23.6	31.0	26.5	25.1	35.9	362	0.0	18.4	10.2	15.5	8.1	32
About average	65.8	58.4	64.5	63.1	51.3	807	100.0	71.1	77.6	73.6	81.1	179
Not as smart as most	5.0	3.2	3.1	4.3	0.0	47	0.0	5.3	10.2	8.2	10.8	20
N	161	474	287	347	39	1308	3	38	49	110	37	237

TABLE 3.6.16

SELF CONCEPT FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

"How smart do you think you really are, compared to the other students?"

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
One of the smartest	10.6	5.5	4.0	5.4	6.7	79	8.3	0.0	4.9	0.0	0.0	4
Smarter than most	39.2	32.9	23.4	19.3	21.0	331	20.8	23.1	9.8	15.6	5.3	24
About average	48.4	58.2	68.6	69.1	67.6	698	66.7	69.2	78.0	81.3	78.9	139
Not as smart as most	1.9	3.4	4.0	6.3	4.8	43	4.2	7.7	7.3	3.1	15.8	13
N	378	146	299	223	105	1151	24	13	41	64	38	180

In American society, respect accrues to those individuals who achieve higher levels of education. This seems truer for whites than for Negroes, however. At least, advanced education would not seem to bring the same amount of respect to Negro fathers as to white fathers, if Kenneth Clark [196 :21] is correct in suggesting that the Negro community operates in terms of lower class values.[10] The same line of reasoning would, of course, apply to those Negro students whose fathers are well-educated. The data from students in Connecticut's five central cities indicates, however, that this respect increases with their fathers' education for both races (Table 3.6.17). The relationship is somewhat clearer among white students than among Negroes, suggesting that fathers' education has more of an effect on the self-esteem of whites.[11] This may indicate that Negro fathers who are well-educated receive somewhat less respect from the larger community than do white fathers, or it may be that the socialization of Negro children does not differ as much from category to category of fathers' education as it does among white families. Regardless of these differences between the races, the educational background of a student does show a positive relation to his self-esteem for both Negro and white pupils.

The level of cultural stimulation characterizing a school--its cultural affluence--is expected to affect the self-esteem of its students. That is, as the level of affluence increases, the self-respect of students would also increase. It is possible, however, that students with meager resources might be negatively influenced by the sophistication of the school climate. Thus, the self-esteem of Negro pupils, who have been shown to have lower ability scores than whites, might suffer in schools where a large proportion of fellow students possess encyclopedias. The evidence from the present study does not support the latter contention. Students of both races exhibit higher self-esteem as the percentage of their fellow students possessing encyclopedias increases (Table 3.6.18). This relationship is somewhat more evident among white pupils, but the difference between the effect of this aspect of a school's climate on white and Negro students is not substantial.

Combining the effects of a student's social origins and characteristics of the school may help to specify the effects of each on the self conception of students. Through an analysis of this sort, it might be possible to suggest which students are most likely to suffer a loss of self-esteem in segregated schools. An analysis of the combined effects of their fathers' occupational status and the proportion of nonwhite students in schools does not suggest, however, that students of any particular social class are more likely than others to be affected by segregated schools (Table 3.6.19). Neither are students whose fathers have any specific educational background more likely than others to be influenced by the proportion of Negroes in a school (Table 3.6.20).

---

[10] The lower class supposedly does not value education as much as do the middle and upper classes.

[11] This relationship is similar to the one between fathers' education and verbal ability scores for these pupils (Table 3.4.12 and 3.4.14).

TABLE 3.6.17

SELF CONCEPT FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

"How smart do you think you really are, compared to the other students?"

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
One of the smartest	4.7	7.9	10.7	88	0.0	3.6	6.7	4
Smarter than most	22.4	29.7	38.1	347	13.5	12.7	20.0	27
About average	68.6	59.8	48.8	716	77.9	72.7	70.0	142
Not as smart as most	4.3	2.5	2.5	39	8.7	10.9	3.3	16
N	509	316	365	1190	104	55	30	189

TABLE 3.6.18

SELF CONCEPT FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

"How smart do you think you really are, compared to the other students?"

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS									
	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
One of the smartest	6.7	3.4	9.2	8.4	92	0.0	1.9	4.4	11.1	6
Smarter than most	24.7	20.6	30.1	36.4	362	14.3	11.1	13.3	22.2	32
About average	64.4	72.5	56.9	52.0	807	78.6	74.1	76.7	44.4	179
Not as smart as most	4.1	3.4	3.7	3.1	47	7.1	13.0	5.6	22.2	20
N	194	378	511	225	1308	84	54	90	9	237

TABLE 3.6.19

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHO THINK THEY ARE SMARTER THAN AVERAGE WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	25-40	51-100
Professional	44.4	51.2	45.8	48.2	75.0	---	16.7	50.0	33.3	0.0
	(27)	(197)	(59)	(87)	(8)	(0)	(6)	(4)	(12)	(2)
Clerical	33.3	40.0	43.8	35.5	33.3	---	33.3	0.0	40.0	---
	(21)	(45)	(32)	(45)	(3)	(0)	(3)	(5)	(5)	(0)
Skilled	27.6	29.0	25.8	22.8	54.5	---	33.3	9.1	11.8	14.3
	(47)	(100)	(62)	(79)	(11)	(0)	(6)	(11)	(17)	(7)
Semi-skilled	11.1	24.6	25.3	28.1	40.0	0.0	22.2	11.1	18.9	0.0
	(27)	(57)	(63)	(71)	(5)	(1)	(9)	(9)	(37)	(8)
Unskilled	35.3	25.9	33.3	22.2	0.0	---	12.5	0.0	8.3	0.0
	(17)	(27)	(30)	(27)	(4)	(0)	(8)	(9)	(12)	(9)

TABLE 3.6.20

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHO THINK THEY ARE SMARTER THAN AVERAGE WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Less than High School	22.3	25.4	28.4	28.2	46.2	---	25.0	6.9	14.3	10.0
	(72)	(138)	(141)	(145)	(13)	(0)	(16)	(29)	(49)	(10)
High School graduate	41.8	38.9	34.0	33.3	50.0	---	9.1	22.2	18.5	12.5
	(55)	(113)	(50)	(84)	(14)	(0)	(11)	(9)	(27)	(8)
More than High School	38.1	50.5	50.0	46.1	57.1	0.0	50.0	0.0	37.5	14.3
	(21)	(188)	(60)	(89)	(7)	(1)	(2)	(4)	(16)	(7)

For white seniors, an increase in the ratio of Negro to white pupils is accompanied by an increase in self-esteem. Negro pupils are more likely to have high self-esteem in schools which are predominantly white in enrollment. In both instances, the schools which are more than one half Negro have the largest effect on the self-respect of students. This would suggest that having a nonwhite majority, rather than the mere presence of a sizeable proportion of nonwhite students, is most detrimental to the self-conception of Negro pupils regardless of social and educational background.

Although the previously discussed measure of self-respect may have the most influence on the future success of pupils, as it has a direct bearing on the realization of their potential, it does not take into consideration some of the non-academic dimensions of self-concept. It is likely that a measure of self-esteem which is not tied to a student's estimate of his own intellectual capacities might still prove important. Therefore, seniors in Connecticut's five central cities were asked to indicate a number of general attitudes toward themselves. Most students seem to have positive self-conceptions, although they do differ depending upon which attribute is being considered. Thus, almost all students believe they are persons of worth, that they have good qualities, that they do things as well as others, and are not failures (Table 3.6.21). Negro and white pupils differ much less on these measures than on the measure of academic self-esteem. With regard to self-esteem in general, therefore, Negro pupils do not seem much different from whites. The lack of respect shown to Negroes in the larger community has not seemed to damage the general level of self-esteem of Negro seniors in Connecticut schools.[12]

Control Over Environmental Forces

When an individual student feels that he cannot adequately control his future, this may lessen his desire to achieve success in school and to dampen his occupational as well as his educational aspirations. It has been argued in the Office of Education report [Coleman, et al., 1966:321] that a belief that one can exert a considerable control over his future is related to the responsiveness of the person's present situation to his wants and needs. Thus, Negro pupils might be expected to feel that they have relatively little ability to make meaningful decisions about their later life. Evidence from the present study does suggest that Negro students in both grade school and high school are more likely than white students to say that "people like me" have little chance in life (Table 3.6.22).

---

[12] This would seem to contradict the findings of Kenneth Clark [1955] and others on the detrimental effects of a segregated society of Negro children.

TABLE 3.6.21

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO OTHER QUESTIONS REGARDING SELF CONCEPT

(Percent)

ATTITUDES ABOUT SELF Pupil believes he:	White	N	Negro	N
Is a person of worth	96.9	1246	97.6	212
Has good qualities	95.6	1245	96.8	218
Does things well	93.7	1262	90.0	220
Is not a failure*	91.8	1258	88.2	220
Has much to be proud of*	84.7	1257	80.2	217
Has positive attitude to self	80.2	1218	81.4	215
Is satisfied with self	68.7	1242	68.8	218
Takes blame for failure*	62.6	1245	52.6	217
Has respect for self*	61.4	1215	62.6	211
Does not feel no good*	57.2	1235	65.7	216
Is to blame if not successful	47.3	1250	33.3	219
Does not feel useless at times*	38.8	1236	43.1	216

*These questions were asked in a manner in which "Disagree" gave a positive response on self concept.

TABLE 3.6.22

CONTROL OVER ENVIRONMENT FOR SIXTH AND TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS

"Do you think that people like you have much of a chance in life?"

(Percent)

	SIXTH GRADE			TWELFTH GRADE		
	White	Negro	N	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Yes	67.1	57.2	1320	90.8	70.7	1277
Unsure	27.0	36.8	663	7.2	19.5	131
No	5.9	6.0	125	2.1	9.8	47
N	1158	950	2108	1240	215	1455

It is important to note, however, that a majority of students of both races believe that they do have a chance in life.[13] Most of the rest are unsure. Few students feel that they have no chance at all.[14] It seems that the greater deprivation of Negro pupils may be reflected in this sentiment. This socio-cultural deprivation is not so great, however, as to dampen the virtually unlimited educational and occupational aspirations of Negro students which was discussed in an earlier chapter.

It was assumed, it will be remembered, that this felt ability on the part of students to control the quality of their future lives would be related to the racial composition of the students' school. The results of the present investigation suggest that there is an inverse relationship between the proportion of Negroes in a school and this particular way of viewing the world (Tables 3.6.23 and 3.6.24). This is especially true in elementary schools.[15] These findings are in contrast to those in the Office of Education report which found this to be true in regard to Negro students but not for whites [Coleman, et al., 1966: 323]. The results from the schools in Connecticut's five central cities indicate, moreover, that this sense of control is minimal, within elementary schools, among those students who are members of a racial group that is relatively small numerically in the school.

Those students whose families had relatively high status in the larger community as a result of the prestige associated with their fathers' occupations would, it is assumed, be more likely to believe that they had a relatively secure and successful future to which to look forward. The findings of the present study indicate that this is indeed the case (Tables 3.6.25 and 3.6.26). The pattern is again much clearer among elementary school students than among high school seniors. There is also a slight tendency for this to be more important for white students than for Negroes. This difference is not sizeable enough, however, to modify this relationship.

Relatedly, it is also assumed that those students who had well-educated fathers would be most likely to believe that they had a good chance to exert considerable control over their future lives.

---

[13] Control over environment seems to increase from sixth to twelfth grade, corroborating the findings of the Office of Education study [Coleman, et al., 1966:323] that a sense of control increases with the age of the pupil.

[14] The proportion of Negro pupils who feel they have no chance increases substantially in the twelfth grade, however.

[15] Probably this is due to both the greater range of racial compositions in elementary schools and the larger percentage of pupils in these schools who are unsure or negative about their control over their environments.

TABLE 3.6.23

CONTROL OVER ENVIRONMENT FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

"Do you think that people like you have much of a chance in life?"

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Yes	71.3	67.3	64.7	60.7	46.3	777	53.3	63.3	57.7	56.9	56.4	543
Unsure	23.5	26.9	30.4	31.8	39.0	313	30.0	30.4	38.5	37.1	37.7	350
No	5.2	5.8	4.9	7.5	14.6	68	16.7	6.3	3.8	5.9	5.9	57
N	477	309	224	107	41	1158	30	79	130	202	509	950

TABLE 3.6.24

CONTROL OVER ENVIRONMENT FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

"Do you think that people like you have much of a chance in life?"

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Yes	88.7	93.0	91.2	87.4	94.9	1125	100.0	81.6	70.2	64.2	75.8	152
Unsure	7.3	5.9	6.3	10.4	2.6	89	0.0	10.5	25.5	18.9	24.2	42
No	4.0	1.1	2.6	2.2	2.6	26	0.0	7.9	4.3	16.8	0.0	21
N	151	460	272	318	39	1240	2	38	47	95	33	215

TABLE 3.6.25

CONTROL OVER ENVIRONMENT FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

"Do you think that people like you have much of a chance in life?"

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	Profes- sional	Cleri- cal	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	N	Profes- sional	Cleri- cal	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Yes	85.7	73.7	69.8	62.1	69.0	664	70.0	63.6	59.0	56.8	54.2	310
Unsure	12.1	21.1	25.5	31.2	25.6	236	20.0	24.2	32.4	38.0	40.5	194
No	2.1	5.3	4.7	6.8	5.4	49	10.0	12.1	8.6	5.2	5.3	35
N	140	114	255	311	129	949	20	33	105	250	131	539

TABLE 3.6.26

CONTROL OVER ENVIRONMENT FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

"Do you think that people like you have much of a chance in life?"

(Percent)

	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Yes	93.8	89.4	93.2	85.6	90.5	996	82.6	72.7	76.3	63.9	79.4	122
Unsure	5.1	8.5	4.7	11.1	8.4	75	13.0	9.1	15.8	23.0	14.7	29
No	1.1	2.1	2.2	3.4	1.1	21	4.3	18.2	7.9	13.1	5.9	16
N	370	141	278	208	95	1092	23	11	38	61	34	167

Evidence from the students in the present study indicates that the higher the education of a white student's father the more likely he is to express a positive attitude and to feel that "people like him" have a great chance in life (Tables 3.6.27 and 3.6.28). This is not the case, on the other hand, with regard to Negro students. This may suggest that the more highly educated fathers of Negro students may transmit some of their own despair over the discriminatory practices that result in the positions of power and prestige in larger community, for which they have the requisite education, being the exclusive property of whites. It might be, however, that Negro pupils, especially by the time they become seniors in high school, have undergone such unrewarding experiences in the school and the larger community that they do not believe that "people like me" have much of a chance in life.

Those schools with a more culturally stimulating school climate might be expected to enhance a student's sense of control over his future life. A normative context of this sort would certainly seem to provide the training and the intellectual resources to enable a student to actively manipulate his environment and thus exert considerable power over his future educational and occupational attainments. Indeed, the cultural affluence of a school does seem to show a slight positive relationship to the proportion of students who believe they have this power (Tables 3.6.29 and 3.6.30). The results indicate, however, that a highly stimulating school climate may not be as rewarding to Negro pupils. This may be due to the fact that what is considered culturally stimulating is based on the definitions provided by white authority figures. The school context may, as a result, be "foreign" to the Negro pupil and be less stimulating than to white pupils in general.

To further specify the type of students most likely to develop a sense of control over their future lives a multivariable analysis is utilized which allows an examination of the attitudes of students from different family backgrounds who are in schools characterized by differing racial compositions of students. Through this type of analysis it is possible to specify the types of students who are either negatively or positively influenced by the racial composition of the school. When the combined effects of a student's social class, as measured by the prestige of his father's occupation, and the proportion of Negroes in the school are analyzed, it is apparent that there is no particular advantage or disadvantage accruing to a student as a result of his social class background (Tables 3.6.31 and 3.6.32). The findings suggest that Negro and white students, from all social class backgrounds, are more likely to feel that "people like me" have little chance in life when they attend de facto segregated Negro schools. One of the possible effects of "token integration" is also brought to light by this analysis. It seems that Negro elementary schools students who come from blue-collar family backgrounds are more likely to feel that they are unable to exert significant control over their future lives, when they attend predominantly white schools.

TABLE 3.6.27

CONTROL OVER ENVIRONMENT FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

"Do you think that people like you have much of a chance in life?"

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Yes	63.2	72.7	84.1	586	56.2	66.1	62.3	312
Unsure	26.9	22.7	12.3	173	37.3	28.2	28.7	156
No	9.9	4.6	3.6	48	6.5	5.7	9.0	34
N	242	370	195	807	153	227	122	502

TABLE 3.6.28

CONTROL OVER ENVIRONMENT FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

"Do you think that people like you have much of a chance in life?"

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Yes	88.0	93.3	94.6	1030	74.7	70.6	67.9	126
Unsure	9.9	4.0	4.5	75	14.7	23.5	21.4	32
No	2.1	2.7	0.8	21	10.5	5.9	10.7	16
N	474	298	354	1126	95	51	28	174

TABLE 3.6.29

CONTROL OVER ENVIRONMENT FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

"Do you think that people like you have much of a chance in life?"

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS											
	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Yes	61.5	67.1	60.4	68.3	76.3	777	62.5	54.3	50.2	64.6	70.7	544
Unsure	31.3	26.4	31.7	25.7	21.4	313	31.7	39.4	44.6	27.4	24.1	350
No	7.1	6.4	7.9	6.0	2.2	68	5.8	6.3	5.2	8.0	5.2	57
N	182	140	227	385	224	1158	224	269	287	113	58	951

TABLE 3.6.30

CONTROL OVER ENVIRONMENT FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

"Do you think that people like you have much of a chance in life?"

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS									
	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Yes	89.0	89.1	92.2	91.3	1125	74.4	80.0	62.1	80.0	152
Unsure	8.9	7.9	6.4	6.4	89	17.9	10.0	26.4	10.0	42
No	2.1	3.0	1.4	2.3	26	7.7	10.0	11.5	10.0	21
N	191	331	500	218	1240	78	40	87	10	215

TABLE 3.6.31

PERCENTAGE OF SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WHO BELIEVE THEY HAVE SOME CONTROL OVER THE ENVIRONMENT - A CHANCE IN LIFE - WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Professional	85.7	88.5	85.7	83.3	66.7	100.0	100.0	83.3	---	54.5
	(91)	(26)	(14)	(6)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(6)	(0)	(11)
Clerical	82.7	53.6	78.3	70.0	100.0	100.0	60.0	0.0	42.9	72.2
	(52)	(28)	(23)	(10)	(1)	(2)	(5)	(1)	(7)	(18)
Skilled	75.3	69.3	63.5	63.6	66.7	66.7	50.0	50.0	61.9	60.7
	(97)	(75)	(52)	(22)	(9)	(3)	(8)	(12)	(21)	(61)
Semi-skilled	58.5	72.8	61.8	48.6	50.0	33.3	68.2	56.9	57.1	56.0
	(106)	(92)	(68)	(35)	(10)	(9)	(22)	(51)	(77)	(91)
Unskilled	69.7	76.0	63.6	61.5	66.7	50.0	60.0	46.2	64.5	50.7
	(66)	(25)	(22)	(13)	(3)	(2)	(10)	(13)	(31)	(75)

TABLE 3.6.32

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHO BELIEVE THEY HAVE SOME CONTROL OVER THE ENVIRONMENT - A CHANCE IN LIFE - WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Professional	92.6 (27)	95.3 (194)	98.3 (58)	86.7 (83)	100.0 (8)	--- (0)	100.0 (6)	75.0 (4)	81.8 (11)	50.0 (2)
Clerical	89.4 (19)	88.9 (45)	90.7 (32)	88.1 (42)	100.0 (3)	--- (0)	100.0 (3)	60.0 (5)	66.7 (3)	--- (0)
Skilled	93.1 (43)	93.8 (97)	92.9 (57)	91.4 (70)	100.0 (11)	--- (0)	83.3 (6)	80.0 (10)	68.8 (16)	83.3 (6)
Semi-skilled	88.0 (25)	88.9 (54)	88.2 (59)	78.5 (65)	100.0 (5)	100.0 (1)	70.0 (10)	100.0 (10)	53.1 (32)	50.0 (8)
Unskilled	82.4 (17)	88.0 (25)	88.8 (27)	100.0 (22)	100.0 (4)	--- (0)	71.4 (7)	75.0 (8)	70.0 (10)	100.0 (9)

When the joint effects of the racial composition of the school and the educational backgrounds of students are investigated, it is apparent that white students from well-educated families suffer less from their experiences in segregated schools than do those from less well educated families (Tables 3.6.33 and 3.6.34). There doesn't seem to be any noticeable pattern among Negro pupils from different educational backgrounds. This analysis of the combined effects of school climate and the social class and educational backgrounds of students has failed to identify any specific instances which might alter the basic relations of each to a student's beliefs about his chances of future success. That is, an increasing proportion of Negroes in a school continues to have a depressing effect on this attitude of students. In a similar fashion, those students from advantaged backgrounds retain their relatively optimistic beliefs about their future. Lastly, the significant differences between white and Negro students in this regard remain.

As was mentioned in the foregoing, a second measure of a student's attitude toward his degree of control over his future life, was developed for high school seniors. This measure allows a comparison between students in regard to how successful they feel they will be in "getting the right kind of job." The findings of the present study indicate that there is a greater difference between Negroes and whites on this measure than was true for the more group related--"people like me"--measure (Table 3.6.35). It may well be that these findings reflect the awareness by Negro students of discriminatory employment practices. In general, Negro students feel they will be less successful than whites in exerting a significant degree of control over their future occupational status.

The effects of de facto school segregation on this particular measure should be most evident in Negro schools. The low grades and the relatively low scores received by all students would seem to indicate a rather unrewarding setting for students of both races. Their experiences within this context might, in turn, color their beliefs about their chances of getting the right kind of a job. The data from seniors in the schools of Connecticut's five central cities support this contention. In the case of both Negro and white twelfth graders, a greater percentage feel that they will have difficulty in getting the right kind of job as the proportion of Negroes in the school increases (Table 3.6.36). The changing racial composition of the school affects Negroes much more strongly than whites.

The findings also reveal that a student's social class and educational background are very important in understanding why some have a sense of control over their occupational future while others do not. That is, the higher the student's social class background, the more likely it is that the student will be optimistic about getting the right kind of job (Table 3.6.37). In almost all cases, however, white students regardless of their social class are more optimistic than Negro students.

TABLE 3.6.33

PERCENTAGE OF SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WHO BELIEVE THEY HAVE SOME CONTROL OVER THE ENVIRONMENT - A CHANCE IN LIFE - WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Less than High School	58.5	67.2	71.2	64.5	28.6	60.0	76.5	61.9	50.0	52.5
	(94)	(58)	(52)	(31)	(7)	(5)	(17)	(21)	(30)	(80)
High School graduate	75.6	74.2	70.1	71.4	36.4	57.1	66.7	61.1	70.2	66.1
	(164)	(93)	(67)	(35)	(11)	(7)	(18)	(36)	(57)	(109)
More than High School	90.6	80.4	75.9	58.3	100.0	50.0	70.0	58.8	65.7	60.7
	(106)	(46)	(29)	(12)	(2)	(4)	(10)	(17)	(35)	(56)

TABLE 3.6.34

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHO BELIEVE THEY HAVE SOME CONTROL OVER THE ENVIRONMENT - A CHANCE IN LIFE - WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Less than High School	87.3 (71)	89.5 (134)	90.0 (129)	84.3 (127)	92.3 (13)	--- (0)	88.2 (17)	81.5 (27)	65.9 (44)	71.4 (7)
High School graduate	88.0 (50)	94.5 (109)	95.8 (48)	92.2 (77)	100.0 (14)	--- (0)	72.7 (11)	66.7 (9)	65.2 (23)	87.5 (8)
More than High School	100.0 (20)	96.2 (184)	93.1 (58)	90.6 (85)	100.0 (7)	100.0 (1)	100.0 (2)	50.0 (4)	64.3 (14)	71.4 (7)

TABLE 3.6.35

FURTHER CONTROL OF ENVIRONMENT FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS

"Even with a good education, I'll have a hard time getting the right kind of job."

(Percent)

	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0	
Disagree	63.0	35.6	856
Unsure	24.9	36.6	387
Agree	12.1	27.8	210
N	1237	216	1453

TABLE 3.6.36

FURTHER CONTROL OF ENVIRONMENT FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

"Even with a good education, I'll have a hard time getting the right kind of job."

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Disagree	51.3	70.0	62.1	58.5	66.7	779	50.0	56.4	34.0	30.9	26.5	77
Unsure	30.7	22.0	24.6	27.2	20.5	308	50.0	23.1	40.4	36.2	47.1	79
Agree	18.0	8.0	13.2	14.2	12.8	150	0.0	20.5	25.5	33.0	26.5	60
N	150	460	272	316	39	1237	2	39	47	94	34	216

TABLE 3.6.37

FURTHER CONTROL OF ENVIRONMENT FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

"Even with a good education, I'll have a hard time getting the right kind of job."

(Percent)

	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Disagree	70.3	59.2	62.3	57.5	55.8	686	60.9	45.5	30.8	29.5	37.1	62
Unsure	21.0	29.6	26.1	27.1	24.2	270	17.4	36.4	43.6	36.1	42.9	62
Agree	8.7	11.3	11.6	15.5	20.0	131	21.7	18.2	25.6	34.4	20.0	45
N	367	142	276	207	95	1087	23	11	39	61	35	169

The same pattern is evident when educational background is considered. Optimism is positively associated with the educational attainments of a student's father (Table 3.6.38). Again, the depressing effects of race are apparent. Negro seniors with well educated fathers are less optimistic in regard to their control over their future occupational success than are white seniors whose fathers did not finish high school.

The degree of cultural stimulation associated with a given school climate is positively related to this attitude of seniors. That is, the findings reveal that the larger the proportion of their fellow students having encyclopedias, the more likely a student is to report that he will be successful in controlling his occupational future (Table 3.6.39). While the relationship is rather weak, it is found within both racial groups. As might be expected, considering the nature of the previous results, Negroes in the most culturally affluent school climates are less optimistic about their occupational futures than white students in the least stimulating schools. The specter of perceived discriminatory practices may again loom rather large in the minds of Negro youth.

Again, as in other sections of this report, a multivariate scheme of analysis is used to suggest what type of student is most affected by segregated schools. In this case, however, the findings reveal that all students, regardless of their social class or educational backgrounds, tend to express a somewhat less optimistic view of their chances to control their own future occupational attainments as the proportion of Negroes in the schools increases (Table 3.6.40 and 3.6.41). This relationship is most pronounced however, for Negroes. It appears, therefore, that they experience the effects of de facto segregation in the most dramatic form.

In an attempt to complement the other measures dealing with a student's sense of control over his future occupational attainments and to indicate, as well, the group to which students were referring when they replied to the question of whether "people like me" had a chance in life, seniors were asked to indicate which of eight factors they thought would aid their advancement. "Hard work," "brains," and "contacts" seemed indicative of control, while "luck" seemed to indicate a complete absence of any sense of control. "Family," "race," and "religion," were also considered as factors beyond the student's control. More importantly, the latter factors were used to specify the group with which the student identified. The measure did not prove to be especially useful for either purpose. The findings reveal that a majority of students of both races thought that "hard work" aided advancement (Tables 3.6.42). White students named this slightly more often as might be expected. It was surprising to find that Negroes and whites chose "luck" about evenly. There were other differences between the races in that "contacts" were mentioned more often by whites, "brains" and "personality" by Negroes. The latter seem insignificant, however. Most importantly, it should be pointed out that these factors were the most often mentioned for both races. On the other hand, the identifying factors of "race," "religion," and "family" were all named more often by Negro students than by whites. Here again, however, the differences were not sizeable.

TABLE 3.6.38

FURTHER CONTROL OF ENVIRONMENT FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

"Even with a good education, I'll have a hard time getting the right kind of job."

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Disagree	58.6	65.1	71.0	722	33.3	38.0	42.9	63
Unsure	26.4	25.5	21.0	275	31.3	48.0	35.7	64
Agree	15.0	9.4	8.0	127	35.4	14.0	21.4	47
N	474	298	352	1124	96	50	28	174

TABLE 3.6.39

FURTHER CONTROL OF ENVIRONMENT FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

"Even with a good education, I'll have a hard time getting the right kind of job."

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS									
	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Disagree	58.6	58.2	64.5	70.5	779	27.8	30.8	43.2	50.0	77
Unsure	26.2	26.4	25.9	19.4	308	41.8	48.7	27.3	30.0	79
Agree	15.2	15.5	9.6	10.1	150	30.4	20.5	29.5	20.0	60
N	191	330	499	217	1237	79	39	88	10	216

TABLE 3.6.40

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHO BELIEVE THEY WILL NOT HAVE A HARD TIME GETTING THE RIGHT KIND OF JOB WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Professional	53.8 (26)	75.2 (194)	72.0 (57)	63.4 (82)	62.5 (8)	--- (0)	100.0 (6)	75.0 (4)	45.5 (11)	0.0 (2)
Clerical	52.6 (19)	60.0 (45)	59.4 (32)	60.5 (43)	66.7 (3)	--- (0)	100.0 (3)	40.0 (5)	0.0 (3)	--- (0)
Skilled	41.9 (43)	71.6 (95)	67.2 (58)	58.0 (69)	63.6 (11)	--- (0)	33.3 (6)	30.0 (10)	31.3 (16)	28.6 (7)
Semi-skilled	56.0 (25)	60.0 (55)	54.3 (57)	56.9 (65)	80.0 (5)	0.0 (1)	30.0 (10)	30.0 (10)	28.1 (32)	37.5 (8)
Unskilled	47.1 (17)	60.0 (25)	66.7 (27)	45.5 (22)	50.0 (4)	--- (0)	50.0 (8)	25.0 (8)	40.0 (10)	33.3 (9)

TABLE 3.6.41

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHO BELIEVE THEY WILL NOT HAVE A HARD TIME GETTING THE RIGHT KIND OF JOB WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	16-50	51-100
Less than High School	45.7	64.5	63.1	54.0	69.2	---	47.0	37.0	29.5	12.5
	(70)	(135)	(130)	(126)	(13)	(0)	(17)	(27)	(44)	(8)
High School graduate	50.0	74.4	64.6	59.7	78.6	---	72.8	22.2	36.4	12.5
	(50)	(109)	(48)	(77)	(14)	(0)	(11)	(9)	(22)	(8)
More than High School	65.0	73.8	69.0	70.2	42.9	0.0	100.0	50.0	35.7	42.9
	(20)	(183)	(58)	(84)	(7)	(1)	(2)	(4)	(14)	(7)

TABLE 3.6.42

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS CHECKING FACTORS WHICH THEY BELIEVE AID ADVANCEMENT

(Percent)

FACTORS WHICH AID ADVANCEMENT	White	Negro
Hard work	58.4	52.7
Contacts	22.3	19.2
Brains	18.0	23.0
Personality	11.0	15.9
Family	2.2	3.8
Luck	1.7	1.7
Race	1.3	8.8
Religion	0.6	1.3
N	1332*	239

TABLE 3.6.43

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS STATING THAT RACE AIDS ADVANCEMENT WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL	White	N	Negro	N
0 - 10 percent	2.4	164*	0.0	3
11 - 15 percent	0.8	481	2.6	39
16 - 25 percent	2.1	292	14.0	50
26 - 50 percent	0.8	356	9.1	110
51 -100 percent	0.0	39	8.1	37
N		1332		239

---

*These numbers refer to the number of cases on which the percentages were based.

Lastly, the influence of the racial composition of the school, the students' social class, and educational background on the percentage of students identifying race was examined. In the schools of Connecticut's major cities, it is significant that white students were more likely to mention race if they were enrolled in predominantly white schools while Negroes mentioned race more often in schools having large proportion of Negro pupils (Table 3.6.43). It seems that white students in white schools feel that being white aids one's advancement. Those Negro students, on the other hand, who are enrolled in Negro schools feel that being a Negro is an impediment to one's advancement. The findings also also reveal that the occupational status of a student's father is important in understanding a student's belief in his future success when it is examined within the two racial groups. As can be seen from the table, white seniors whose fathers hold working-class jobs are more likely to identify race as being important than are students from white-collar families (Table 3.6.44). This is also true for Negro students with the exception of the large proportion from professional backgrounds who mention race as aiding advancement. It is perhaps these Negro youth who have been in the most advantageous position to observe the detrimental effects of race on the advancement of their fathers. This pattern is repeated when the effects of a student's educational background are analyzed (Table 3.6.45). Finally, a multivariate scheme of analysis was employed and the analyses failed to indicate any interaction effects (Tables 3.6.46 and 3.6.47).

Discussion

A student's interest in learning, self-esteem, and sense of control over his future are important to an understanding of his success in school. In the schools of Connecticut's five central cities, a majority of students have positive attitudes toward all three. The findings reveal, however, that Negro students have relatively low self-esteem and little sense of control over their future educational and occupational status. It is evident, moreover, that the latter attitudes are further depressed by the fact of de facto school segregation.

The relatively disparaging self-image of Negro students as well as the related pessimism as to their chances of future success seem to stem from two basic conditions. First, Negro students tend to accept the definitions of the authority figures in the school that they do not, in fact, possess the academic abilities of white students. Negro students, in general, appear to feel they are not as worthy of respect as whites for their intelligence nor in those attributes which lead to success in school. Secondly, this general sense of futility felt by many Negroes reflects their awareness of racial discrimination in the larger society.

TABLE 3.6.44

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS STATING THAT RACE AIDS ADVANCEMENT WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	White	N	Negro	N
Professional	0.8	388	16.7	24
Clerical	0.7	150	0.0	13
Skilled	1.0	300	4.9	41
Semi-skilled	1.8	226	7.6	66
Unskilled	1.9	105	7.9	38
N		1332		239

TABLE 3.6.45

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS STATING THAT RACE AIDS ADVANCEMENT WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	White	N	Negro	N
Less than High School	1.6	515	7.5	109
High School graduate	1.2	320	7.3	55
More than High School	0.3	375	13.3	30
N		1332		239

TABLE 3.6.46

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS STATING THAT RACE AIDS ADVANCEMENT WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Professional	0.0 (29)	0.5 (201)	1.6 (61)	1.1 (89)	0.0 (8)	--- (0)	0.0 (6)	25.0 (4)	25.0 (12)	0.0 (2)
Clerical	0.0 (21)	0.0 (46)	0.0 (32)	2.1 (48)	0.0 (3)	--- (0)	0.0 (3)	0.0 (5)	0.0 (5)	--- (0)
Skilled	4.3 (47)	1.0 (101)	0.0 (62)	0.0 (79)	0.0 (11)	--- (0)	0.0 (6)	0.0 (11)	5.9 (17)	14.3 (7)
Semi-skilled	7.1 (28)	0.0 (58)	3.2 (63)	0.0 (72)	0.0 (5)	0.0 (1)	0.0 (10)	0.0 (10)	13.5 (37)	0.0 (8)
Unskilled	0.0 (17)	0.0 (27)	6.7 (30)	0.0 (27)	0.0 (4)	--- (0)	12.5 (8)	22.2 (9)	0.0 (12)	0.0 (9)

TABLE 3.6.47

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS STATING THAT RACE AIDS ADVANCEMENT WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Less than High School	2.7	2.2	1.4	0.7	0.0	---	0.0	10.0	10.2	0.0
	(74)	(139)	(142)	(147)	(13)	(0)	(17)	(30)	(49)	(10)
High School graduate	1.8	0.0	6.0	0.0	0.0	---	0.0	11.1	7.4	12.5
	(56)	(114)	(50)	(86)	(14)	(0)	(11)	(9)	(27)	(8)
More than High School	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	12.5	14.3
	(21)	(193)	(62)	(92)	(7)	(1)	(2)	(4)	(16)	(7)

Negro students are more likely to believe, for example, that their race hinders their chances for future success. Relatedly, they are more likely to blame others if they are not successful. While these underlying attitudes and beliefs are rather subtle and elusive to measure, they do seem to be crucial in understanding the problems that confront the majority of Negro students as they attend the schools of Connecticut's major cities today.

While the present study provides some support for the notion that families with different social class positions and educational status socialize their children differently, it also points to some necessary modification in this line of thought. Children from high-status families, in general, exhibit a greater interest in learning, a more positive self-image, and a sense of great power in being able to take an active, manipulative "stance" toward the world. These differences, however, are much more evident among white students. The differences among Negroes are minimal. Two possible explanations can be at least suggested for this occurrence. It would seem that either Negro families socialize their children in terms of the values of a relatively distinct Negro subculture--with distinctive values and beliefs about learning, etc.,--or the variation in values and attitudes that do result from differences in class-related socialization are mitigated by the actual experiences and encounters with discriminatory practices which confront the Negro youth in school and in the larger community.

Clearly, the single most important influence on the attitudes of students toward themselves and their future is their racial identification. Whatever the causes, Negro pupils do not have, as a rule, the required attitudes for success in the "expert society."

Chapter Seven

EFFECTS OF DE FACTO SCHOOL SEGREGATION AND THE INTERRACIAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS OF STUDENTS

With the development of an urban-industrial society it becomes increasingly important for individuals of ability to have the opportunity to develop this ability within an "effective" school system. Historically, the role of the school is more crucial than ever before. In those cases where the school is unsuccessful in allowing students to realize their potential, it has failed to meet the requirements of an "Expert Society" for men of skill and talent. Wherever this is the case, furthermore, the school will deal a severe blow to the life chances of its students. Education is, after all the major channel of mobility to positions of considerable income, prestige and power in an urban-industrial system. While the present report has examined some of the important effects of de facto school segregation in Connecticut's five major cities, it has not examined its influence on the peer relationships which may develop *between* Negro and white students nor the attitudes of students toward those of the other race. This relatively "informal" aspect of the school climate would seem rather important in understanding the level of academic achievement, interest in learning and the self-conception of both Negro and white pupils. In particular, wherever racist attitudes and discriminatory peer relations are most evident, it would seem likely that this would depress the Negro student's chance of success in school and deal a rather severe blow to his overall life chances. The focus of the present chapter is, therefore, the relationship between the racial composition of the school and these interracial attitudes and behaviors.

The student's social class and educational background is also important in understanding his attitudes toward the different races and the racial exclusiveness of his "informal" peer relationships. It is assumed that white students from high status occupational and educational backgrounds would be least likely to have unfavorable attitudes toward Negro students, to think of Negroes in stereotypical terms, or to exclude them from informal peer relationships. In the case of white students from lower status backgrounds, on the other hand, it is likely that their attitudes and behaviors toward Negro students will reflect their parents' fear of Negro competition for employment, preferable housing, and political power. As a result, their attitudes are likely to be unfavorable and their peer relations racially exclusive. The Negro student, in contrast, is not likely to be overly influenced by either social class or educational background considerations. Rather, his attitudes and behaviors toward white students are likely to reflect the dictates of a Negro subculture.

It is likely that a culturally stimulating or affluent school climate will produce relatively favorable racial attitudes on the part of students. A school climate which lacks a stimulating quality, on the other hand, is likely to engender racial stereotypes on the part of its students which would adversely affect the quality of their interactions with students of a race different from their own. A racially integrated school with a culturally stimulating atmosphere would seem to provide the optimum social conditions for the fostering of meaningful and "productive" interracial relationships. Unfortunately, the culturally affluent schools in Connecticut's five central cities are attended almost exclusively by white students. This finding in itself, of course, attests to the consequences of de facto school segregation. It is not expected, therefore, that this aspect of a school climate will be very influential in explaining any lessening of racial exclusiveness with regard to peer relationships.

While the measurement of these interracial attitudes and behaviors is imprecise, the measures do indicate something about the nature of the interactions between Negro and white students in the classroom and the racial exclusiveness of peer relationships outside the classroom. In an attempt to identify whether or not the interracial attitudes were favorable, students were asked what proportion of Negro and white pupils they would prefer in their classroom as well as the type of qualities they associate with the two major racial groups. The purpose of the latter question was to identify the students' racial stereotypes. Lastly, sixth graders were asked whether or not they would prefer to attend another school. It was thought that this would indicate in part, at least, their feelings toward the racial composition of their present school. The actual interactions between students of different racial backgrounds were measured in terms of the frequency of peer relations and the compatibility between the races exhibited in the larger school setting. All students were asked first of all to comment on the proportion of their friends who were of a different race. Secondly, seniors were asked whether or not their friends had parties to which students of both races were invited. Finally, the seniors were also asked if they thought the major racial groups were compatible in their present school.

Findings

Racial Attitudes of Students

A student's tolerance and perhaps understanding of races other than his own should be evident from his reply to the question dealing with the proportion of Negro and white pupils he would prefer as his classmates. Since white people hold a disproportionate share of those positions that grant considerable income, prestige and power in the larger community, it is likely that many Negro students will perceive whites as being superior and, as a result, be favorable to white classmates. The evidence from Connecticut's five central cities supports this contention (Table 3.7.1). The findings reveal that Negro students prefer schools having fifty percent or more white pupils. On the other hand, white students appear to have a rather negative orientation to predominantly Negro schools.[1]

The racial composition of the school is an important influence on the students' preferences as to the racial balance of their classmates. The results indicate that students tend to prefer a balance that is similar to that found in their present school (Tables 3.7.2 and 3.7.3). It is apparent, moreover, that attitudes of racial tolerance are rather unlikely in those schools which are overwhelmingly attended by students of the same race as the respondent. These findings seem to suggest that de facto school segregation in Connecticut's five major cities engenders attitudes on the part of students that will be resistant to efforts directed at school integration. The most tolerant attitudes, on the other hand, are found among those Negro and white students who are attending schools that are predominantly white or predominantly Negro respectively. The latter findings are not overly encouraging. Racial tolerance may in these cases be only an adaptation to the students' immediate situation and have little "carry-over" to other situations.

The social status of a student's family, as measured by the occupational and educational status of the student's father, has very little influence on these preferences (Tables 3.7.4, 3.7.5, 3.7.6, and 3.7.7). There is a slight tendency for students from white-collar backgrounds, regardless of their race, to prefer the more integrated classrooms. While this is in line with the assumptions of the present report, the relationships are somewhat less than convincing. A student's preferences in this matter appear to be much more affected by the racial composition of the school, therefore, than by the social status of the student's family.

---

[1] It should be mentioned that almost half of the grade school pupils, 49 percent of the whites and 43 percent of the Negroes, indicated the racial composition of their class did not matter to them. Among high school seniors, however, only a few, 18 percent of the whites and five percent of the Negroes, said racial composition of their class did not matter.

TABLE 3.7.1

DESIRED NUMBER OF WHITE CLASSMATES FOR SIXTH AND TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS

(Percent)

	SIXTH GRADE			TWELFTH GRADE		
	White	Negro	N	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
None*	2.6	24.6	162	0.1	6.6	14
Few	10.7	38.3	297	0.2	6.1	14
Half	18.5	23.9	266	23.7	71.4	348
Most	34.2	8.0	280	63.1	14.3	583
All	34.0	5.1	262	12.9	1.5	116
N	682	585	1267	879	196	1075

*For twelfth grade pupils who were asked the exact percentage of desired white classmates, responses have been recategorized as follows: 0% = None, 1-33% = Few, 34-67% = Half, 68-99% = Most, 100% = All.

TABLE 3.7.2

DESIRED NUMBER OF WHITE CLASSMATES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
None	1.7	1.9	4.5	4.9	0.0	18	11.1	31.9	8.0	20.8	30.6	144
Few	8.1	11.8	13.6	9.8	13.6	73	16.7	31.9	38.7	44.2	37.5	224
Half	11.1	14.2	24.2	32.9	50.0	126	50.0	21.3	34.7	23.4	20.3	140
Most	35.5	38.7	36.4	20.7	13.6	233	11.1	10.6	10.7	7.8	6.9	47
All	43.6	33.5	21.2	31.7	22.7	232	11.1	4.3	8.0	3.9	4.8	30
N	234	212	132	82	22	682	18	47	75	154	291	585

TABLE 3.7.3

DESIRED NUMBER OF WHITE CLASSMATES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
None	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	1	0.0	6.3	4.7	9.0	3.3	13
Few	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.4	0.0	2	0.0	6.3	9.3	4.5	6.7	12
Half	9.2	17.6	26.1	32.8	55.6	208	100.0	65.6	67.4	69.7	86.7	140
Most	75.2	68.7	61.7	54.5	37.0	555	0.0	15.6	18.6	15.7	3.3	28
All	15.6	13.8	11.7	11.9	7.4	113	0.0	6.3	0.0	1.1	0.0	3
N	109	319	180	244	27	879	2	32	43	89	30	196

TABLE 3.7.4

DESIRED NUMBER OF WHITE CLASSMATES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	Profes- sional	Cleri- cal	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	N	Profes- sional	Cleri- cal	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
None	1.3	3.2	0.7	1.6	2.4	9	14.3	27.8	14.0	22.2	25.3	70
Few	9.1	11.1	5.3	14.0	8.2	55	28.6	27.8	42.1	41.1	34.2	125
Half	15.6	22.2	17.2	17.7	14.1	97	21.4	33.3	33.3	23.4	25.3	85
Most	39.0	39.7	38.4	31.7	37.6	204	28.6	5.6	8.8	8.2	8.9	30
All	35.1	23.8	38.4	34.9	37.6	197	7.1	5.6	1.8	5.1	6.3	16
N	77	63	151	186	85	562	14	18	57	158	79	326

TABLE 3.7.5

DESIRED NUMBER OF WHITE CLASSMATES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
None	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	1	13.6	8.3	2.9	6.0	3.3	9
Few	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	1	13.6	0.0	8.6	4.0	3.3	9
Half	24.4	32.7	26.6	18.6	14.3	186	40.9	66.7	71.4	84.0	76.7	107
Most	63.0	58.2	60.9	66.2	71.4	486	27.3	25.0	14.3	6.0	16.7	22
All	12.6	8.2	12.1	15.2	14.3	96	4.5	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0	2
N	238	110	207	145	70	770	22	12	35	50	30	149

TABLE 3.7.6

DESIRED NUMBER OF WHITE CLASSMATES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
None	4.1	1.4	3.5	13	29.9	22.7	19.3	75
Few	10.3	9.9	8.8	46	36.1	42.4	38.6	123
Half	19.9	15.1	20.2	84	20.6	24.2	27.7	75
Most	32.2	41.0	31.6	170	10.3	5.3	10.8	26
All	33.6	32.5	36.0	159	3.1	5.3	3.6	13
N	146	212	114	472	97	132	83	312

TABLE 3.7.7

DESIRED NUMBER OF WHITE CLASSMATES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
None	0.0	0.0	0.4	1	8.0	4.3	8.0	11
Few	0.0	0.5	0.0	1	8.0	6.4	4.0	11
Half	18.7	24.5	29.1	188	72.7	68.1	64.0	112
Most	67.5	60.4	61.9	514	10.2	17.0	24.0	23
All	13.8	14.6	8.6	100	1.1	4.3	0.0	3
N	348	212	244	804	88	47	25	160

The cultural stimulation or cultural affluence of the school climate is also unimportant in explaining the students' preferences as to the racial balance of their classmates. The findings indicate that a stimulating school climate is often characterized by favorable attitudes on the part of Negro students toward a greater proportion of white classmates. They also indicate, in contrast, that white students are more likely to prefer classmates of their own race in such a school climate (Tables 3.7.8 and 3.7.9). These results are better explained, it seems, by the racial composition of the school. It will be remembered, that the degree of cultural stimulation characterizing a school climate is directly related to the proportion of white students in the school.

When a multivariate analysis is used to identify the type of student whose racial preferences in classmates is most affected by de facto school segregation, the findings reveal that the racial composition of the schools has a similar effect on all students regardless of their social class and educational backgrounds (Tables 3.7.10, 3.7.11, 3.7.12, and 3.7.13). It is discouraging to note that the greater the racial segregation of a school, the more likely students are to prefer classmates of the same race as themselves. Added confirmation is given to the notion, therefore, that de facto school segregation produces attitudes that militate against the racial integration of the public schools in Connecticut's major cities.

Discrimination as Evidenced by Peer Relationships

The peer relationships of elementary and high school students, especially in regard to their racial exclusiveness, are used to indicate their degree of tolerance and understanding of other races. It is expected that the friendship patterns of these students will most often involve members of their own race. This reflects the fact that urban neighborhoods are normally racially segregated as well as the fact that peer relationships across racial lines are generally frowned upon in the larger community. It is also probable that Negro students will choose more white friends than white students will choose Negro friends.[2] The latter would seem to follow from the fact that Negro pupils are in a minority in the schools of Connecticut's five central cities. It also seems likely that these choices will reflect their acceptance of the myth of white superiority which is indicated in their answers to other questions.

When the relationship between students' race and the proportion of their friends who were of a different race is examined, a noticeable disjuncture is found between their attitudes and their actual behavior.

---

[2] There seems to be a tendency for students to choose as friends other students who are considered to be desirable associates because of their backgrounds [cf. Turner, 1964].

TABLE 3.7.8

DESIRED NUMBER OF WHITE CLASSMATES FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS											
	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
None	1.7	2.1	6.0	3.3	0.6	18	30.8	24.7	18.2	31.7	16.0	144
Few	16.5	6.3	8.6	8.7	12.8	73	37.0	44.4	39.2	27.0	32.0	224
Half	20.0	29.2	25.0	9.3	16.9	126	21.2	17.4	29.1	23.8	40.0	140
Most	33.0	26.0	24.1	40.4	39.5	233	6.2	9.0	8.1	9.5	8.0	47
All	28.7	36.5	36.2	38.3	30.2	232	4.8	4.5	5.4	7.9	4.0	30
N	115	96	116	183	172	682	146	178	148	63	50	585

TABLE 3.7.9

DESIRED NUMBER OF WHITE CLASSMATES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS									
	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
None	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	1	5.6	14.6	1.3	25.0	13
Few	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	2	8.3	2.4	6.7	0.0	12
Half	34.1	17.5	26.6	18.5	208	76.4	73.2	66.7	62.5	140
Most	55.8	62.5	64.0	68.2	555	9.7	7.3	22.7	12.5	28
All	8.5	19.9	9.1	13.4	113	0.0	2.4	2.7	0.0	3
N	129	251	342	157	879	72	41	75	8	196

TABLE 3.7.10

PERCENTAGE OF SIXTH GRADE PUPILS DESIRING MOST OR ALL CLASSMATES OF THE SAME RACE AS THE PUPIL WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Professional*	79.0	76.5	50.0	83.3	33.3	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	50.0
	(43)**	(17)	(8)	(6)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(8)
Clerical	79.1	64.7	58.3	33.3	0.0	0.0	33.3	---	75.0	60.0
	(24)	(17)	(12)	(9)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(0)	(4)	(10)
Skilled	87.0	82.2	57.1	62.5	80.0	0.0	50.0	16.7	58.3	66.7
	(46)	(56)	(28)	(16)	(5)	(1)	(4)	(6)	(16)	(30)
Semi-skilled	80.4	69.7	56.1	52.2	40.0	33.3	54.6	58.1	60.3	76.6
	(51)	(66)	(41)	(23)	(5)	(6)	(11)	(31)	(63)	(47)
Unskilled	80.6	63.6	82.4	77.8	0.0	0.0	60.0	16.7	57.9	68.1
	(36)	(22)	(17)	(9)	(1)	(2)	(5)	(6)	(19)	(47)

*Professional includes all professional and managerial positions
Clerical includes all clerical and sales positions
Skilled includes all the trades and technical positions
Semi-skilled includes all the operative positions
Unskilled includes laborers, farm and non-farm

**Numbers in parentheses refer to the number of cases on which the percentages are based.

TABLE 3.7.11

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS DESIRING MOST OR ALL CLASSMATES OF THE SAME RACE AS THE PUPIL WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Professional	100.0	82.0	75.9	57.8	50.0	---	16.7	50.0	30.0	0.0
	(19)	(122)	(29)	(64)	(4)	(0)	(6)	(4)	(10)	(2)
Clerical	76.9	70.0	66.7	60.6	33.3	---	0.0	0.0	25.0	---
	(13)	(40)	(21)	(33)	(3)	(0)	(3)	(5)	(4)	(0)
Skilled	85.7	81.2	68.3	64.8	25.0	---	0.0	22.2	14.3	0.0
	(35)	(69)	(41)	(54)	(8)	(0)	(6)	(9)	(14)	(6)
Semi-skilled	100.0	86.8	79.5	74.5	50.0	---	14.3	0.0	13.3	0.0
	(17)	(38)	(39)	(47)	(4)	(0)	(7)	(7)	(30)	(6)
Unskilled	100.0	94.2	71.4	83.3	100.0	---	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
	(12)	(17)	(21)	(18)	(2)	(0)	(6)	(9)	(8)	(7)

TABLE 3.7.12

PERCENTAGE OF SIXTH GRADE PUPILS DESIRING MOST OR ALL CLASSMATES OF THE SAME RACE AS THE PUPIL WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Less than High School	70.5	76.7	55.3	58.8	25.0	25.0	77.7	33.3	80.0	66.0
	(44)	(43)	(38)	(17)	(4)	(4)	(9)	(9)	(25)	(50)
High School graduate	86.4	83.4	62.2	51.8	66.7	0.0	58.4	50.0	70.6	73.3
	(81)	(64)	(37)	(27)	(3)	(4)	(12)	(22)	(34)	(60)
More than High School	75.0	70.0	50.0	54.6	0.0	33.3	42.9	41.6	61.6	65.8
	(56)	(30)	(16)	(11)	(1)	(3)	(7)	(12)	(26)	(35)

TABLE 3.7.13

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS DESIRING MOST OR ALL CLASSMATES OF THE SAME RACE AS THE PUPIL WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Less than High School	81.8	85.0	77.4	77.6	62.5	---	20.0	16.7	15.0	11.0
	(49)	(100)	(93)	(98)	(8)	(0)	(15)	(24)	(40)	(9)
High School graduate	88.9	86.2	73.5	61.0	36.4	---	0.0	12.5	17.4	0.0
	(36)	(72)	(34)	(59)	(11)	(0)	(9)	(8)	(23)	(7)
More than High School	100.0	77.2	70.6	53.9	25.0	---	0.0	25.0	15.4	0.0
	(14)	(127)	(34)	(65)	(4)	(0)	(2)	(4)	(13)	(6)

The findings reveal that friendships for white students are made almost entirely within their own racial group (Table 3.7.14). This is in contrast with their attitudes which were generally favorable with regard to the desirability of having Negro classmates. It will be remembered that a relatively large proportion of white pupils were either favorably disposed toward racially mixed classrooms or felt that the race of their classmates was basically an irrelevant consideration. Negro students, on the other hand, were characterized by just the opposite pattern. They were more likely to say that a large percentage of their best friends were white than they were to wish for classes of predominantly white students. The table indicates, moreover, that the high schools in Connecticut's major cities seem more likely than elementary schools to have peer relationships between students that are racially exclusive. The latter finding probably reflects the fact that friendship patterns and dating are usually linked in high school and interracial dating is, in general, still strongly frowned upon.

The racial composition of the school is an important consideration in understanding the racial exclusiveness of the friendship patterns of Negro and white students. It is obvious that segregated schools limit the number of friendships that can develop between pupils of different races. It is expected, therefore, that white students would have a greater proportion of Negro friends in schools having larger nonwhite enrollments and Negro students would have a larger proportion of white friends in schools which are predominantly white. The results indicate that this is the case among students in Connecticut's five central cities (Tables 3.7.15 and 3.7.16). It is again apparent that white students tend to show a greater preference for friends of the same race. That is, white students in predominantly Negro schools are still more likely to have all white friends than are Negro students to have all Negro friends in schools attended by mainly white students. The trend is most evident in high schools. This is no doubt due to the fact that the percentages of Negro students are smaller here than in many elementary schools and to the negative sanctions placed on interracial dating. It seems, therefore, that the two major limitations to interracial friendship patterns are segregated schools which is most applicable to the elementary grades and the strong negative sanctions placed on interracial dating in the high school where a more evenly balanced racial composition is normally found.

While white students from high status families have slightly more tolerant attitudes toward having Negroes as classmates than those from lower status families, they have less opportunity to come in contact with Negro youth in their schools and neighborhoods. This merely reflects the facts of de facto segregation. They are characterized by a rather abstract attitude of tolerance, in this case, that is not often put to the test through numerous and sustained contacts with their Negro counterparts. It is expected, therefore, that white students whose fathers have high status occupations will have fewer Negro friends than white students from a working class background. The data indicate that this is the case in both elemetary school and high school (Tables 3.7.17 and 3.7.18).

TABLE 3.7.14

PROPORTION OF WHITE BEST FRIENDS FOR SIXTH AND TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS

(Percent)

	SIXTH GRADE			TWELFTH GRADE		
	White	Negro	N	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
None	1.2	23.9	249	0.6	25.9	60
Less than 1/3	2.2	22.4	246	0.2	23.4	50
1/3 to 2/3	11.0	22.7	362	3.8	23.4	96
More than 2/3	16.1	11.2	316	5.3	4.4	75
All	69.5	19.7	1086	90.2	22.9	1174
N	1286	973	2259	1250	205	1455

TABLE 3.7.15

PROPORTION OF WHITE BEST FRIENDS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
None	0.9	0.0	1.8	3.1	7.5	16	6.9	12.8	12.1	21.2	31.9	233
Less than 1/3	0.6	2.2	1.8	6.3	12.5	28	3.4	12.8	17.9	22.8	26.4	218
1/3 to 2/3	6.4	10.5	13.2	23.4	22.5	141	20.7	30.2	27.9	25.7	18.4	221
More than 2/3	12.7	18.5	21.1	14.1	17.5	207	17.2	15.1	15.0	8.3	10.5	109
All	79.4	68.8	62.3	53.1	40.0	894	51.7	29.1	27.1	22.0	12.8	192
N	528	362	228	128	40	1286	29	86	140	241	477	973

TABLE 3.7.16

PROPORTION OF WHITE BEST FRIENDS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
None	1.3	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.0	7	50.0	40.0	15.4	21.1	35.3	53
Less than 1/3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	2	0.0	20.0	25.6	26.3	17.6	48
1/3 to 2/3	2.6	2.4	5.9	4.3	8.6	48	0.0	11.4	25.6	26.3	26.5	48
More than 2/3	5.3	5.0	5.5	5.8	2.9	66	0.0	2.9	2.6	5.3	5.9	9
All	90.8	92.0	88.3	89.0	88.6	1127	50.0	25.7	30.8	21.1	14.7	47
N	152	464	273	326	35	1250	2	35	39	95	34	205

TABLE 3.7.17

PROPORTION OF WHITE BEST FRIENDS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
None	0.6	0.0	0.7	1.8	1.4	11	13.0	14.7	24.5	23.3	24.4	128
Less than 1/3	0.6	1.4	1.4	3.0	0.7	18	13.0	23.5	25.5	22.2	26.7	132
1/3 to 2/3	8.8	8.0	11.6	13.4	13.0	121	43.5	26.5	22.6	24.8	17.6	132
More than 2/3	13.5	22.5	13.4	16.8	11.0	162	4.3	8.8	10.4	10.2	13.7	60
All	76.6	68.1	72.9	64.9	74.0	748	26.1	26.5	17.0	19.5	17.6	108
N	171	138	277	328	146	1060	23	34	106	266	131	560

TABLE 3.7.18

PROPORTION OF WHITE BEST FRIENDS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	Professional	Clerical	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	N	Professional	Clerical	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
None	0.6	0.0	0.7	0.9	0.0	6	19.0	40.0	21.1	27.6	25.0	40
Less than 1/3	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	2	19.0	30.0	18.4	29.3	25.0	39
1/3 to 2/3	4.4	1.4	2.8	4.7	5.3	41	23.8	30.0	31.6	17.2	31.3	40
More than 2/3	3.9	5.0	7.4	4.2	6.4	57	0.0	0.0	2.6	5.2	3.1	5
All	91.1	93.5	88.4	90.2	88.3	988	38.1	0.0	26.3	20.7	15.6	35
N	361	139	285	215	94	1094	21	10	38	58	32	159

9

It is also evident from the findings that Negro pupils whose fathers hold prestigious occupations are more likely to have whites as friends than are Negro children whose fathers hold blue-collar occupations. The findings with regard to middle class white students are particularly discouraging. That is, those white students who have the most favorable attitudes toward Negroes do not have the opportunity to make friendships that cut across racial lines.

It follows from the foregoing that the educational status of a student's family should be negatively related to the proportion of his friends who are Negro. As expected, the relationship is almost identical to the relationship between the student's social class background and the proportion of the student's friendships which cross racial lines (Tables 3.7.19 and 3.7.20). It is difficult to know, of course, whether white students from high status educational backgrounds shun friendships with Negro students or simply have limited opportunities to meet and become acquainted with Negro pupils. The results indicate that the relationship between both measures of a student's social status and the likelihood of his friendships cutting across racial lines are relatively weak. In both cases, this is seemingly due to the absence of opportunities for higher status white pupils to interact with their Negro counterparts.

While a culturally stimulating school climate was shown to influence the favorableness of the attitudes of Negro and white students toward classmates of the other race in opposite ways, this pattern is not evident when interracial friendships are considered (Tables 3.7.21 and 3.7.22). In fact, the cultural affluence of the school climate has no consistent effect on the degree of racial exclusiveness characterizing the friendship patterns of either whites or Negroes. Clearly, therefore, the most important influence on these particular patterns is the racial composition of the school. Integrated schools provide the opportunities for students to interact across racial lines and these interactions may lead to friendships between Negro and white students.

When a multivariate analysis is employed to identify the type of student whose friendships are most affected by the racial composition of the school, it is a bit surprising to find that white upper and middle class pupils are not likely to have Negro friends even in grade schools that are attended by predominantly Negro students (Table 3.7.23). This finding may indicate a reaction on their part to being outnumbered by Negro classmates and students of working class backgrounds. Perhaps students of this background cling to friendships with others of high status for protection in an essentially lower class school context. This would certainly lead to the maintenance of their distinctiveness. Among high school seniors, on the other hand, those from middle class backgrounds are more likely to have Negro or nonwhite friends than are white students from working class backgrounds (Table 3.7.24).

TABLE 3.7.19

PROPORTION OF WHITE BEST FRIENDS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
None	1.2	1.4	0.0	9	27.1	23.7	21.6	123
Less than 1/3	4.6	1.6	1.4	22	23.2	21.9	20.0	111
1/3 to 2/3	11.2	9.3	11.9	95	18.1	26.3	20.8	114
More than 2/3	15.1	15.7	17.0	144	12.3	9.6	14.4	59
All	68.0	72.0	69.7	639	19.4	18.4	23.2	101
N	259	432	218	909	155	228	125	508

TABLE 3.7.20

PROPORTION OF WHITE BEST FRIENDS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
None	0.4	1.0	0.6	7	23.6	34.7	14.8	42
Less than 1/3	0.2	0.3	0.0	2	23.6	14.3	33.3	37
1/3 to 2/3	3.9	4.3	3.1	43	28.1	24.5	18.5	42
More than 2/3	6.2	5.4	3.7	59	3.4	6.1	0.0	6
All	89.3	89.0	92.6	1026	21.3	20.4	33.3	38
N	485	299	353	1137	89	49	27	165

TABLE 3.7.21

PROPORTION OF WHITE BEST FRIENDS FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS											
	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
None	1.1	0.0	2.8	1.1	1.1	16	23.3	26.2	22.2	37.0	9.2	233
Less than 1/3	3.9	3.2	4.2	0.5	1.3	28	24.9	21.8	24.8	21.0	11.5	218
1/3 to 2/3	11.2	18.5	13.2	7.6	9.7	141	20.8	22.9	21.8	23.0	29.9	221
More than 2/3	18.5	14.6	11.8	15.2	18.9	207	9.4	12.7	11.7	8.0	13.8	109
All	65.2	63.7	67.9	75.5	69.0	894	21.6	16.4	19.5	11.0	35.6	192
N	178	157	212	368	371	1286	245	275	266	100	87	973

TABLE 3.7.22

PROPORTION OF WHITE BEST FRIENDS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS									
	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
None	0.0	0.6	0.8	0.5	7	26.9	18.9	24.7	55.6	53
Less than 1/3	0.5	0.0	0.2	0.0	2	19.2	27.0	25.9	22.2	48
1/3 to 2/3	7.1	2.2	4.0	3.3	48	26.9	24.3	22.2	0.0	48
More than 2/3	3.8	3.9	6.8	5.2	66	5.1	2.7	4.9	0.0	9
All	88.6	93.3	88.2	91.0	1127	21.8	27.0	22.2	22.2	47
N	184	357	499	210	1250	78	37	81	9	205

TABLE 3.7.23

PERCENTAGE OF SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITH ALL WHITE FRIENDS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Professional	80.5	63.3	75.0	77.8	66.7	33.3	50.0	16.7	0.0	27.3
	(113)	(30)	(16)	(9)	(3)	(3)	(2)	(6)	(1)	(11)
Clerical	78.8	67.7	60.0	33.3	100.0	100.0	28.6	100.0	14.3	17.6
	(66)	(31)	(25)	(15)	(1)	(2)	(7)	(1)	(7)	(17)
Skilled	84.5	74.7	61.5	61.5	22.2	66.7	25.0	23.1	20.0	10.5
	(103)	(87)	(52)	(26)	(9)	(3)	(8)	(13)	(25)	(57)
Semi-skilled	77.5	62.5	58.0	51.4	44.4	55.6	29.2	26.9	18.9	9.3
	(111)	(104)	(69)	(35)	(9)	(9)	(24)	(52)	(95)	(86)
Unskilled	81.7	79.4	68.0	38.5	33.3	0.0	36.4	23.1	25.0	11.0
	(71)	(34)	(25)	(13)	(3)	(2)	(11)	(13)	(32)	(73)

TABLE 3.7.24

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITH ALL WHITE FRIENDS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Professional	96.0	92.7	89.3	87.7	83.3	---	33.3	50.0	36.4	50.0
	(25)	(193)	(56)	(81)	(6)	(0)	(6)	(2)	(11)	(2)
Clerical	89.5	97.7	96.6	88.6	100.0	---	0.0	0.0	0.0	---
	(19)	(44)	(29)	(44)	(3)	(0)	(3)	(4)	(3)	(0)
Skilled	91.3	86.7	86.2	90.4	90.0	---	40.0	22.2	35.3	0.0
	(46)	(98)	(58)	(73)	(10)	(0)	(5)	(9)	(17)	(7)
Semi-skilled	88.0	92.9	91.9	86.8	100.0	---	22.2	62.5	9.1	25.0
	(25)	(56)	(62)	(68)	(4)	(0)	(9)	(8)	(33)	(8)
Unskilled	86.7	88.5	85.2	90.9	100.0	---	16.7	25.0	10.0	12.5
	(15)	(26)	(27)	(22)	(4)	(0)	(6)	(8)	(10)	(8)

This reflects the fact that high schools are, in general, more highly integrated than neighborhood elementary schools. In the case of Negro students in both elementary school and high school, the findings reveal that those from white collar family backgrounds are slightly more likely to have white friends than are those from blue collar backgrounds. It seems, therefore, that the favorable attitudes of white middle class students toward Negroes lead to interracial friendship patterns only in a racially integrated school setting. More often than not, this type of setting is found only in the high schools of Connecticut's major cities.

It is a bit discouraging to find that a student's educational background seems to make very little difference with regard to the racial exclusiveness of his friendships even within integrated schools (Tables 3.7.25 and 3.7.26). There is a noticeable reticence on the part of white students whose fathers are high school graduates to include Negro students within these peer relationships. It may be that these are the students who have the most extreme status anxieties and would feel threatened by the incursions of Negroes. They tend, therefore, to maintain the status system by excluding Negroes from their peer relationships and not considering them as friends. A rather surprising finding is that Negro students from humble educational backgrounds are likely to report that they have all white friends when they attend predominantly white schools. This may indicate an attempt on their part to enhance their own status within the school by having higher status friends.

Other Racial Attitudes of Students

Two other measures of the favorableness of the students' attitudes toward other races were used to supplement the earlier discussion. These were: (1) whether they had a preference with regard to the racial identification of their teachers; and (2) whether they would prefer to attend another school. The data with regard to the former were collected from the high school seniors alone, while data for the latter were collected from sixth graders. The preference of seniors with regard to the racial identification of their teachers did not prove to be very discriminating. Most seniors, the findings reveal, did not express any preference. The results indicate that more than two-thirds of the white students and one-half of their Negro counterparts did not care about the race of their teacher. Of those students who did express a preference, most of the white students wanted all white teachers while most of the Negroes wanted equal numbers of white and nonwhite teachers (Table 3.7.27). Because of the small percentage of seniors expressing any choice no further analysis of these data is undertaken.[3] In general, it seems that the racial identification of their teachers is much less important to high school seniors in Connecticut's major cities than the racial composition of their classes.

---

[3] Preference for teachers of specific races was not found to be consistently related to the racial composition of schools, nor to the social class and educational background of students, so these data areomitted.

TABLE 3.7.25

PERCENTAGE OF SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITH ALL WHITE FRIENDS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Less than High School	77.3	67.2	66.7	51.6	28.6	100.0	22.2	31.6	16.2	13.0
	(97)	(67)	(57)	(31)	(7)	(4)	(18)	(19)	(37)	(77)
High School graduate	81.6	75.0	58.6	52.2	45.5	57.1	23.8	17.9	21.3	13.0
	(185)	(120)	(70)	(46)	(11)	(7)	(21)	(39)	(61)	(100)
More than High School	77.7	63.0	57.1	50.0	0.0	50.0	44.4	36.8	20.5	14.8
	(130)	(46)	(28)	(12)	(2)	(4)	(9)	(19)	(39)	(54)

TABLE 3.7.26

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITH ALL WHITE FRIENDS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Less than High School	94.1	88.8	87.4	89.9	80.0	---	20.0	42.9	15.9	0.0
	(68)	(134)	(135)	(138)	(10)	(0)	(15)	(21)	(44)	(9)
High School graduate	92.3	90.1	87.2	84.0	100.0	---	20.0	12.5	26.1	12.5
	(52)	(111)	(47)	(75)	(14)	(0)	(10)	(8)	(23)	(8)
More than High School	84.2	94.6	93.0	90.7	83.3	---	50.0	33.3	26.7	42.9
	(19)	(185)	(57)	(86)	(6)	(0)	(2)	(3)	(15)	(7)

TABLE 3.7.27

DESIRED NUMBER OF WHITE TEACHERS FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS

(Percent)

	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0	
None	0.3	7.3	9
Less than one-half	1.9	10.9	19
One-half	19.1	65.5	142
More than one-half	28.1	10.9	115
All	50.7	5.5	192
N	367	110	477

TABLE 3.7.28

PREFERENCE OF ANOTHER SCHOOL FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS

(Percent)

	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0	
Yes	21.9	32.5	647
Unsure	19.3	25.1	533
No	58.8	42.3	1263
N	1385	1058	2443

The results suggest that a significant proportion of sixth grade students would prefer to attend another school. They undoubtedly reflect either some degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with a number of aspects of their present school including its racial composition. If it can be assumed, however, that the racial composition of their school is highly salient for these students, then it is instructive to know which pupils prefer another school and which schools are liked most by the students.[4] The findings reveal that Negro and white elementary school students differ significantly in their desire to attend another school. That is, Negro sixth graders were more likely than whites to prefer another school. A larger proportion of Negro students, moreover, were unsure as to their preference (Table 3.7.28). These findings seem to reflect the Negro students' disapproval with their present school since Negroes are no more likely than whites to dislike school in general.[5] It will be remembered that the teachers in the schools of Connecticut's five major cities also felt that these schools were of less quality than others.[6] It may well be, therefore, that the normative climate characterizing these schools is the basis for the dissatisfaction of the Negro students.

Whether the student attends a racially segregated or integrated school is of crucial importance in understanding his preferences in this matter. The findings suggest that white pupils are much less satisfied with predominantly Negro schools than are Negro students (Table 3.7.29). Among Negro pupils on the other hand, there is a dislike for both the exclusively white school and for the predominantly Negro school. It seems that Negroes are uncomfortable in those schools that are characterized by token integration while at the same time realizing that segregated schools are much less attractive from an educational standpoint than those that are meaningfully integrated. Their uncomfortableness and dissatisfaction would seem to be harmful not only to their level of academic achievement but also to the nature of their relationships to white people both in the present and the future.

The social class and educational background of students as well as the degree of cultural stimulation or affluence associated with the schools' climate appear to be of little or no significance in understanding their preferences to attend another school (Tables 3.7.30, 3.7.31, 3.7.32). The differences that do exist among students is more meaningfully explained by the racial composition of the school.

---

[4] Preference of another school is only slightly related to not liking school at all so it is assumed that preferring another school has something to do with the characteristics of the school presently attended rather than disapproval of any schooling.

[5] Evidence of this from the present study is not documented in this report.

[6] See Chapter 3, especially Table 3.3.41.

TABLE 3.7.29

PREFERENCE OF ANOTHER SCHOOL FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Yes	19.5	16.0	22.9	36.0	56.1	303	37.5	31.9	25.5	31.7	34.8	344
Unsure	19.1	17.0	20.6	23.7	19.5	267	21.9	19.1	26.1	25.3	26.1	266
No	61.4	67.0	56.5	40.3	24.4	815	40.6	48.9	48.4	43.0	39.1	448
N	570	382	253	139	41	1385	32	94	153	265	514	1058

TABLE 3.7.30

PREFERENCE OF ANOTHER SCHOOL FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Yes	17.1	18.2	23.3	23.1	20.8	240	29.2	28.6	28.4	31.9	26.7	181
Unsure	20.3	17.5	16.4	17.4	20.1	204	20.8	25.7	28.4	20.8	27.4	147
No	62.6	64.3	60.3	59.5	59.1	688	50.0	45.7	43.1	47.2	45.9	281
N	187	143	292	351	159	1132	24	35	116	288	146	609

TABLE 3.7.31

PREFERENCE OF ANOTHER SCHOOL FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Yes	24.0	20.8	20.2	209	38.0	29.5	36.8	188
Unsure	15.9	18.4	19.4	174	19.3	22.0	23.5	120
No	60.1	60.7	60.3	586	42.8	48.4	39.7	248
N	271	456	242	969	166	254	136	556

TABLE 3.7.32

PREFERENCE OF ANOTHER SCHOOL FOR SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS											
	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N	0-60	61-67	68-75	76-82	83-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Yes	33.5	30.1	19.2	15.7	20.6	303	30.7	34.6	30.0	37.4	32.6	344
Unsure	21.5	20.2	16.6	17.5	21.1	267	23.8	26.8	29.7	14.8	21.7	266
No	45.0	49.7	64.2	66.8	58.3	815	45.6	38.6	40.3	47.8	45.7	449
N	191	163	229	394	408	1385	261	298	293	115	92	1059

When a multivariate analysis is employed to identify the type of students who show the greatest preference for another school, the overriding importance of the influence of de facto school segregation is again confirmed. Its influence is relatively constant for pupils from dissimilar social class and educational backgrounds (Tables 3.7.33 and 3.7.34). Segregated schools, the findings reveal, affect this preference in a similar way regardless of a student's social origins.

The Compatibility of Negro and White Students

A number of racial disturbances in the high schools of Connecticut's major cities were of a serious enough nature to be rather thoroughly reported in the newspapers and on television. In an attempt to identify some of the important social conditions leading to these disturbances, high school seniors were asked how well they thought the students from different races got along in their schools. The students were also asked how often their group of friends had parties that included both races. The findings of the present report reveal that there is very little difference between the races in terms of their estimates of the interracial compatibility characterizing their schools (Table 3.7.35). The differences that do exist are in the predicted direction, however. That is, Negro seniors are most likely to say that the races get along very well while white seniors are most likely to say merely "well enough." Moreover, Negro seniors are more likely to attend parties that included both races (Table 3.7.36). The results indicate that almost fifty percent of the white seniors have never attended a party in which more than one race was present. They also indicate that of those white students who have gone to interracial parties, most have done so only once or twice. On the other hand, one quarter of the Negro seniors attend interracial parties regularly. It seems that it is the Negro student who has taken the primary responsibility for initiating whatever social relationships there are with white students.

Although the newspaper and television reports emphasized that racial violence was associated with segregated schools, the data bearing on the compatibility of the races in schools of varying racial composition indicate that the picture is more complex than that. Both Negro and white seniors, as a matter of fact, report that the greatest racial compatibility is usually associated with the most segregated schools (Table 3.7.37). It seems, therefore, that the mere presence of integration does not assure that the races will get along well with one another.[7]

---

[7] It is interesting to recall that the schools which have 16 to 25 percent nonwhite enrollment are also the schools in which students have high ability, low occupational and educational aspirations and expectations, and in which teachers are most likely to be local products with conservative ideas on integration and little training in teaching disadvantaged students.

TABLE 3.7.33

PERCENTAGE OF SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WHO DO NOT PREFER ANOTHER SCHOOL WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Professional	61.2	67.6	78.9	40.0	33.3	33.3	0.0	57.1	100.0	54.5
	(121)	(34)	(19)	(10)	(3)	(3)	(2)	(7)	(1)	(11)
Clerical	67.6	71.9	51.9	53.3	100.0	50.0	57.1	100.0	42.9	38.9
	(68)	(32)	(27)	(15)	(1)	(2)	(7)	(1)	(7)	(18)
Skilled	63.6	68.9	52.6	46.2	22.2	50.0	50.0	33.3	48.1	41.7
	(110)	(90)	(57)	(26)	(9)	(4)	(10)	(15)	(27)	(60)
Semi-skilled	63.9	66.1	56.9	39.5	30.0	50.0	58.3	56.9	47.2	37.8
	(119)	(112)	(72)	(38)	(10)	(10)	(24)	(58)	(106)	(90)
Unskilled	57.9	67.6	69.0	35.3	33.3	0.0	42.9	66.7	37.8	47.4
	(76)	(34)	(29)	(17)	(3)	(2)	(14)	(15)	(37)	(78)

TABLE 3.7.34

PERCENTAGE OF SIXTH GRADE PUPILS WHO DO NOT PREFER ANOTHER SCHOOL WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100	0-10	11-25	26-50	51-80	81-100
Less than High School	60.6 (104)	71.0 (69)	54.4 (57)	55.9 (34)	14.3 (7)	20.0 (5)	33.3 (18)	52.4 (21)	44.2 (43)	43.0 (79)
High School graduate	60.9 (197)	71.0 (124)	58.7 (75)	44.9 (49)	27.3 (11)	37.5 (8)	63.6 (22)	57.8 (45)	47.1 (68)	43.2 (111)
More than High School	63.6 (143)	54.0 (50)	64.7 (34)	46.2 (13)	0.0 (2)	50.0 (4)	18.2 (11)	35.0 (20)	43.2 (44)	42.1 (57)

TABLE 3.7.35

COMPATIBILITY OF RACES IN SCHOOL FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS

"How do you think kids from different races get along together in this school?"

(Percent)

	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0	
Very well	34.0	49.8	562
Well enough	50.9	36.4	752
Not so well	12.3	10.8	187
Poorly	2.7	3.0	43
N	1313	231	1544

TABLE 3.7.36

FREQUENCY OF INTERRACIAL PARTIES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS

(Percent)

	White	Negro	N
Total	100.0	100.0	
Never	48.0	24.1	613
Once or twice	26.6	26.4	367
Several times	12.6	21.8	192
Often	12.8	27.7	208
N	1164	216	1380

TABLE 3.7.37

COMPATIBILITY OF RACES IN SCHOOL FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Very well	54.3	37.4	16.0	32.1	56.4	447	50.0	56.4	24.5	54.7	62.9	115
Well enough	38.9	51.3	59.6	50.3	38.5	668	0.0	33.3	40.8	36.8	34.3	84
Not so well	6.2	8.4	21.3	14.2	5.1	162	50.0	5.1	28.6	6.6	2.9	25
Poorly	0.6	2.9	3.2	3.4	0.0	36	0.0	5.1	6.1	1.9	0.0	7
	162	478	282	352	39	1313	2	39	49	106	35	231

It may well be that these integrated schools have failed to equip themselves in such a way that the increased frequency of interracial contacts will be productive of increased tolerance and a more realistic environment within which students learn. While racial incompatibility seems to be more pronounced in integrated schools, the findings reveal that white seniors more frequently attend parties where both Negroes and whites are present as the proportion of Negroes in the school increases (Table 3.7.38). This same pattern is found among Negro seniors although the frequency of their attendance at these parties does not differ substantially from one school to another. It seems, therefore, that Negro seniors tend to initiate social relations with whites regardless of the racial composition of their high school.

There is a slight relationship between the students' perception of how well the two races get along in high school and the students' social class backgrounds. The results indicate that students from middle and upper class backgrounds, regardless of race, were more likely to report that Negro and white students were compatible with one another in their high schools (Table 3.7.39). This relationship is, however, somewhat less than convincing as the differences between the social classes are very small. It seems that middle class white students do not attend interracial parties, on the other hand, as often as lower class white pupils (Table 3.7.40). Upper and middle class Negro students, in contrast, reported going more often to parties that included white students than their lower class counterparts.

When the educational status of a student's family is examined, it is found that both Negro and white students from relatively well-educated backgrounds are more likely to perceive that the races are compatible in their high schools (Table 3.7.41). It will be remembered that students from families of relatively high educational status also tended to have more favorable attitudes toward classmates of the other race. A student's educational background is related, moreover, to whether or not his friends had parties that included both races. That is, as the educational status of their families increase, there is a tendency of students of both races to attend these "mixed" parties (Table 3.7.42). These findings are certainly more encouraging than those associated with the social class background of students.

The relationship between the cultural stimulation or affluence of the school climate and the seniors' perceived compatibility of Negro and white students in the high schools of Connecticut's major cities is not very strong (Table 3.7.43). The findings also indicate that this aspect of the school climate is not a very important consideration in understanding the frequency of interracial parties held by the senior's friends, There is a very slight negative relationship between these two variables for both Negro and white seniors (Table 3.7.44). Since, moreover, this relationship is clearer among white seniors, it is likely that the racial composition of the school actually accounts for its slightly negative character.

TABLE 3.7.38

FREQUENCY OF INTERRACIAL PARTIES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL											
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Never	55.3	46.4	45.9	49.8	42.9	561	50.0	16.7	29.5	26.0	17.6	52
Once or twice	22.0	28.1	29.1	24.6	28.6	310	50.0	30.6	22.7	23.0	35.3	57
Several times	12.8	13.0	12.7	11.8	8.6	145	0.0	27.8	20.5	23.0	14.7	47
Often	9.9	12.5	12.3	13.7	20.0	148	0.0	25.0	27.3	28.0	32.4	60
N	141	431	244	313	35	1164	2	36	44	100	34	216

TABLE 3.7.39

COMPATIBILITY OF RACES IN SCHOOL FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Very well	38.1	40.0	29.9	30.7	36.0	398	54.2	50.0	48.8	60.3	50.0	96
Well enough	48.6	51.0	55.0	51.6	43.0	583	37.5	33.3	41.5	33.3	36.8	65
Not so well	10.2	8.3	12.4	14.7	21.0	142	4.2	16.7	7.3	6.3	7.9	13
Poorly	3.1	0.7	2.7	3.1	0.0	28	4.2	0.0	2.4	0.0	5.3	4
N	383	145	298	225	100	1151	24	12	41	63	38	178

TABLE 3.7.40

FREQUENCY OF INTERRACIAL PARTIES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S OCCUPATION											
	WHITE PUPILS						NEGRO PUPILS					
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Never	45.1	47.0	45.2	55.9	53.9	493	18.2	27.3	24.4	29.5	9.1	38
Once or twice	22.8	31.1	31.1	24.5	27.0	274	13.6	18.2	26.8	26.2	33.3	43
Several times	15.0	11.4	10.7	9.6	11.2	124	18.2	45.5	19.5	26.2	21.2	40
Often	17.1	10.6	13.0	10.1	7.9	134	50.0	9.1	29.3	18.0	36.4	47
N	346	132	270	188	89	1025	22	11	41	61	33	168

TABLE 3.7.41

COMPATIBILITY OF RACES IN SCHOOL FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Very well	32.2	34.3	39.5	418	41.0	61.8	55.2	91
Well enough	50.4	53.0	48.1	602	43.0	25.5	37.9	68
Not so well	15.3	10.8	9.2	146	14.0	5.5	3.4	18
Poorly	2.2	1.9	3.2	29	2.0	7.3	3.4	7
N	510	315	370	1195	100	55	29	184

TABLE 3.7.42

FREQUENCY OF INTERRACIAL PARTIES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION							
	WHITE PUPILS				NEGRO PUPILS			
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Never	51.0	51.8	40.4	513	23.4	27.8	16.7	42
Once or twice	28.5	25.5	25.2	286	24.5	31.5	20.0	46
Several times	8.6	11.7	18.7	135	21.3	18.5	26.7	38
Often	11.9	11.0	15.7	138	30.9	22.2	36.7	52
N	453	282	337	1072	94	54	30	178

TABLE 3.7.43

COMPATIBILITY OF RACES IN SCHOOL FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS									
	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Very well	31.0	28.2	34.8	44.9	447	47.6	53.1	51.1	40.0	115
Well enough	51.3	54.5	51.5	43.1	668	45.1	22.4	35.6	40.0	84
Not so well	14.7	14.5	11.5	8.4	162	7.3	16.3	10.0	20.0	25
Poorly	3.0	2.9	2.2	3.6	36	0.0	8.2	3.3	0.0	7
N	197	380	511	225	1313	82	49	90	10	231

TABLE 3.7.44

FREQUENCY OF INTERRACIAL PARTIES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS WHO HAVE AN ENCYCLOPEDIA IN THE HOME

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENTAGE OF FELLOW STUDENTS HAVING ENCYCLOPEDIAS									
	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N	0-77	78-85	86-90	91-100	N
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Never	39.5	59.9	41.8	51.4	561	24.4	37.5	16.0	22.2	52
Once or twice	25.6	24.5	28.6	26.4	310	30.8	20.8	25.9	22.2	57
Several times	15.7	6.8	15.2	12.5	145	16.7	18.8	25.9	44.4	47
Often	19.2	8.7	14.5	9.6	148	28.2	22.9	32.1	11.1	60
N	172	322	462	208	1164	78	48	81	9	216

When a multivariate analysis is employed to identify the type of student that is most influenced by de facto school segregation, it is found that upper and middle class students of both races are least likely to say that the students from different races don't get along well in schools of varying racial composition (Table 3.7.45). On the other hand, the findings reveal that students from all social class backgrounds in those schools that include 16-25 percent Negroes are very likely to believe that students from different races are not compatible. These middle range schools do not stand out, however, when the frequency of attendance at interracial parties is considered (Table 3.7.46). In fact, there is no important pattern of relationship that is evident when a multivariate scheme of analysis is used.

When the influence of the racial composition of the school is examined in conjunction with the students' educational background, nothing really new is uncovered. The findings suggest that the different races are reported to get along well in those high schools that are exclusively white or predominantly Negro and that this is true within all categories of educational background (Table 3.7.47). Most of the reported incompatibility between the races is found in those schools that include 16-25 percent Negro. With regard to the frequency of attendance at parties that include members of both races, white students from well-educated family backgrounds are most likely to attend such parties. This is the case in all schools except those in which the nonwhite enrollment is more than one-half of the school population (Table 3.7.48). The relationship among Negro pupils is less consistent.

Racial Stereotypes

Many investigators of race relations in the United States have commented that Negroes and whites tend to perceive each other in stereotypical terms. This tendency is due to a lack of meaningful contact between the two races and is, of course, related to the increasing de facto segregation characterizing most northern urban communities. Moreover, as both cause and consequence of this racial exclusiveness, a myth of white superiority is shared by both races. While the myth may be less influential today, it is assumed that it will still be apparent in the qualities Negro and white high school seniors in Connecticut's major cities associate with the two racial groups. If this myth has an effect, it is likely to lead pupils, regardless of their race, to perceive whites as being superior. In particular, this superiority would manifest itself in intellectual ability. On the other hand, Negro pupils would be perceived in general as lazy and as lacking interest in scholarly pursuits. The only laudatory stereotype associated with Negroes, it is assumed, would be their athletic powers.

TABLE 3.7.45

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHO SAY THE RACES GET ALONG NOT SO WELL OR POORLY WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Professional	3.6	10.5	27.6	14.6	0.0	---	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0
	(28)	(200)	(58)	(89)	(8)	(0)	(6)	(4)	(12)	(2)
Clerical	0.0	6.5	17.9	10.6	0.0	---	0.0	40.0	0.0	---
	(21)	(46)	(28)	(47)	(3)	(0)	(3)	(5)	(4)	(0)
Skilled	17.0	8.0	21.0	20.5	0.0	---	16.7	18.2	5.9	0.0
	(47)	(100)	(62)	(78)	(11)	(0)	(6)	(11)	(17)	(7)
Semi-skilled	3.6	12.1	30.2	16.9	20.0	---	0.0	10.0	8.6	0.0
	(28)	(58)	(63)	(71)	(5)	(0)	(10)	(10)	(35)	(8)
Unskilled	0.0	11.5	37.0	30.8	0.0	---	12.5	33.3	8.3	0.0
	(17)	(26)	(27)	(26)	(4)	(0)	(8)	(9)	(12)	(9)

TABLE 3.7.46

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHO NEVER HAVE INTERRACIAL PARTIES WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Professional	56.0	46.4	44.4	38.0	60.0	---	33.3	33.3	9.1	0.0
	(25)	(183)	(54)	(79)	(5)	(0)	(6)	(3)	(11)	(2)
Clerical	55.0	35.9	53.6	47.6	66.7	---	0.0	40.0	33.3	---
	(20)	(39)	(28)	(42)	(3)	(0)	(3)	(5)	(3)	(0)
Skilled	51.2	34.0	47.1	56.9	30.0	---	16.7	18.2	41.2	0.0
	(43)	(94)	(51)	(72)	(10)	(0)	(6)	(11)	(17)	(7)
Semi-skilled	63.6	59.6	45.1	61.9	20.0	0.0	33.3	50.0	31.4	0.0
	(22)	(47)	(51)	(63)	(5)	(1)	(9)	(8)	(35)	(8)
Unskilled	64.3	54.2	45.8	52.2	75.0	---	0.0	12.5	0.0	25.0
	(14)	(24)	(24)	(23)	(4)	(0)	(7)	(8)	(10)	(8)

TABLE 3.7.47

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHO SAY THE RACES GET ALONG NOT SO WELL OR POORLY WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Less than High School	5.4	12.3	21.7	24.7	15.4	---	5.9	31.0	10.9	12.5
	(74)	(139)	(138)	(146)	(13)	(0)	(17)	(29)	(46)	(8)
High School graduate	9.3	9.6	28.6	11.9	0.0	---	9.1	44.4	7.4	0.0
	(54)	(114)	(49)	(84)	(14)	(0)	(11)	(9)	(27)	(8)
More than High School	0.0	9.9	28.8	10.9	0.0	---	0.0	25.0	6.3	0.0
	(21)	(191)	(59)	(92)	(7)	(0)	(2)	(4)	(16)	(7)

TABLE 3.7.48

PERCENTAGE OF TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WHO NEVER HAVE INTERRACIAL PARTIES WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL AND EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

FATHER'S EDUCATION	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Less than High School	58.1	48.8	48.7	52.6	41.7	---	6.3	26.9	29.5	12.5
	(62)	(127)	(119)	(133)	(12)	(0)	(16)	(26)	(44)	(8)
High School graduate	59.2	48.1	45.4	56.9	46.2	---	36.4	37.5	25.9	12.5
	(49)	(104)	(44)	(72)	(13)	(0)	(11)	(8)	(27)	(8)
More than High School	38.1	41.0	43.1	37.2	50.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	12.5	14.3
	(21)	(173)	(51)	(86)	(6)	(1)	(2)	(4)	(16)	(7)

A student's race proves to be important in understanding the qualities he associates with Negro and white pupils (Table 3.7.49). Scholastic ability and interest are attributed primarily to white students by seniors of both races. However, Negro seniors view both white pupils and themselves as having more academic prowess than do white seniors. White students seem to have a more realistic opinion of their own intellectual ability and have a relatively low opinion of the ability of Negro pupils. Such derogatory views of the scholastic ability of Negroes seems to operate to stifle the future achievement of Negroes in two ways. First, the belief that they are intellectually inferior would interfere with the Negroes' drive to succeed. Second, the whites would reinforce these feelings by their treatment of Negroes as being inept in scholarly pursuits.

The opposite relationship obtains when concern is shifted to the athletic ability and interest of each race. Both Negro and white seniors associate athletic prowess with Negroes more than with whites. However, students of each race are more likely to see themselves as athletically inclined than do seniors of another race. Athletic ability could thus serve as a route to success for Negro students. This route to success would not be blocked by the unfavorable attitudes of whites as would be true in regard to more scholarly pursuits. Negro seniors would seem to sense this and to cling to an image of Negroes as good athletes to balance the negative attitudes the white seniors hold toward the academic ability of nonwhites. This dependence on athletic prowess for success seems at best uncertain. Only a few students can be successful athletes.

The racial composition of the school attended by a senior does not substantially affect the qualities he associates with each race (Table 3.7.50). Academic ability and interest are associated with white students, and athletic prowess with Negroes, regardless of the racial composition of schools. These findings contradict the notion that contact among students of different races leads to understanding and a breaking down of stereotypical attitudes. If anything, the data suggest a slight increase in the number of white seniors who downgrade the scholarly abilities of Negroes in the schools having sizeable nonwhite enrollments. It may be that these schools, which are generally adjudged to be inferior by teachers, do not provide an atmosphere for positive contact among the races. Since a majority of the Negro pupils attend such schools, their advancement would seem to be hampered by the derogatory attitudes whites showed toward them. In these same schools, however, Negroes are seen by whites and by themselves as being good athletes. Although athletic ability is undoubtedly not as universal a means to success as academic achievement, it does seem to function as an alternative which is not blocked by the negative attitudes of others.

The social class background of a student has only a slight effect on the qualities he attributes to whites and Negroes (Table 3.7.51).

TABLE 3.7.49

QUALITIES ATTRIBUTED TO RACES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS

(Percent)

QUALITIES	WHITE KIDS ARE:		NEGRO KIDS ARE:	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Good students	46.1	58.2	17.2	34.3
Good athletes	37.2	21.3	56.4	66.5
Friendly	76.1	78.2	57.0	77.4
Sharp dressers	48.2	32.2	40.5	60.3
Sports-minded	51.4	32.6	51.4	60.7
Like good times	42.2	26.4	39.4	50.6
Hard to know	11.6	13.0	22.6	13.4
Snobbish	31.8	24.7	15.5	13.8
Not school-minded	11.1	6.3	34.6	18.4
Prejudiced	12.2	18.8	21.4	14.6
N*	1332	238	1332	238

*Number refers to the number of pupils within each category of race. This number was used as the base of the percentages - as the number of pupils who might have checked each quality.

TABLE 3.7.50

QUALITIES ATTRIBUTED TO RACES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
White Kids Are:										
Good students	41.5	46.2	43.2	48.6	64.1	0.0	56.4	62.0	56.4	64.9
Good athletes	41.5	44.5	31.2	31.7	25.6	0.0	46.2	24.0	14.5	13.5
Friendly	79.3	76.5	74.7	74.2	84.6	0.0	82.1	70.0	86.4	67.6
Sharp dressers	50.6	51.6	41.4	47.5	53.8	0.0	41.0	26.0	36.4	21.6
Sports-minded	48.2	60.3	44.5	47.2	43.6	0.0	48.7	30.0	30.0	29.7
Like good times	44.5	51.6	37.3	33.7	30.8	0.0	51.3	18.0	24.5	18.9
Hard to know	8.5	14.1	10.3	11.0	7.7	0.0	12.8	12.0	11.8	18.9
Snobbish	20.1	37.4	31.5	30.1	30.8	0.0	20.5	40.0	25.5	8.1
Not school-minded	14.0	9.8	12.0	11.2	7.7	0.0	2.6	8.0	9.1	0.0
Prejudiced	8.5	12.7	15.8	9.3	20.5	33.3	17.9	32.0	17.3	5.4
N*	164	481	292	356	39	3	39	50	110	37

*See footnote at end of table.

TABLE 3.7.50 - Continued

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	PERCENT NEGRO IN THE SCHOOL									
	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100	0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-100
Negro Kids Are:										
Good students	28.7	12.5	17.5	18.3	15.4	33.3	28.2	30.0	37.3	37.8
Good athletes	37.2	57.3	57.5	59.8	87.2	33.3	64.1	58.0	70.9	70.3
Friendly	67.7	58.4	49.0	56.2	61.5	33.3	84.6	68.0	81.8	73.0
Sharp dressers	33.5	37.2	41.8	44.9	59.0	33.3	61.5	56.0	63.6	56.8
Sports minded	34.1	53.2	49.7	55.9	74.4	33.3	56.4	74.0	57.3	59.5
Like good times	26.2	45.9	37.3	38.5	38.5	33.3	51.3	48.0	52.7	48.6
Hard to know	16.5	23.3	27.7	21.1	15.4	0.0	15.4	12.0	15.5	8.1
Snobbish	12.8	16.0	17.5	14.3	15.4	0.0	10.3	16.0	17.3	5.4
Not school-minded	18.3	39.3	32.2	37.1	41.0	0.0	20.5	22.0	16.4	18.9
Prejudiced	10.4	22.0	27.4	19.4	33.3	0.0	17.9	22.0	13.6	5.4
N*	164	481	292	356	39	3	39	50	110	37

---

*Number refers to the number of pupils within each category of percent Negro in the school. This number was used as the base of the percentages - as the number of pupils who might have checked each quality.

TABLE 3.7.51

QUALITIES ATTRIBUTED TO RACES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	FATHER'S OCCUPATION									
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi skilled	Un-skilled
White Kids Are:										
Good students	41.5	52.7	48.0	49.1	48.6	75.0	53.8	63.4	53.0	63.2
Good athletes	36.6	38.7	41.7	35.4	39.0	29.2	23.1	26.8	18.2	21.1
Friendly	71.6	75.3	79.7	78.8	80.0	83.3	69.2	82.9	83.3	73.7
Sharp dressers	46.4	48.7	51.0	51.3	48.6	37.5	23.1	36.6	28.8	26.3
Sports-minded	54.6	56.0	52.0	46.0	55.2	41.7	30.8	31.7	30.3	39.5
Like good times	43.3	41.3	42.7	43.8	42.9	50.0	30.8	24.4	22.7	23.7
Hard to know	14.7	12.0	8.0	11.5	10.5	4.2	7.7	19.5	10.6	13.2
Snobbish	38.4	28.0	28.7	27.4	32.4	33.3	38.5	22.0	22.7	23.7
Not school-minded	12.4	8.7	10.3	10.2	13.3	20.8	0.0	0.0	4.5	7.9
Prejudiced	14.2	12.0	10.7	9.7	6.7	20.8	7.7	24.4	10.6	15.8
N*	388	150	300	226	105	24	13	41	66	38

*See footnote at end of table.

TABLE 3.7.51 - Continued

	FATHER'S OCCUPATION									
	WHITE PUPILS					NEGRO PUPILS				
	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	Profes-sional	Cleri-cal	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled
Negro Kids Are:										
Good students	11.3	16.0	18.0	23.9	19.0	33.3	23.1	41.5	28.8	36.8
Good athletes	60.2	60.7	54.7	53.1	58.1	83.3	69.2	75.6	63.6	55.3
Friendly	57.5	61.3	58.7	54.9	53.3	91.7	53.8	85.4	80.3	78.9
Sharp dressers	37.1	42.0	46.3	40.7	36.2	79.2	53.8	75.6	51.5	57.9
Sports-minded	54.9	54.7	50.3	50.0	49.5	91.7	84.6	70.7	43.9	60.5
Like good times	41.2	39.3	42.3	40.7	35.2	70.8	61.5	46.3	45.5	50.0
Hard to know	22.9	19.3	22.7	23.5	23.8	12.5	7.7	14.6	12.1	15.8
Snobbish	13.9	12.0	17.0	17.3	21.0	8.3	23.1	14.6	12.1	10.5
Not school-minded	43.6	36.0	29.3	30.1	33.3	29.2	7.7	12.1	16.7	18.4
Prejudiced	20.9	20.7	19.7	23.9	18.1	8.3	15.4	22.0	12.1	10.5
N*	388	150	300	226	105	24	13	41	66	38

---

*Number refers to the number of pupils within each category of father's occupation. This number was used as the base of the percentages - as the number of pupils who might have checked each quality.

White seniors whose fathers have white-collar positions are less likely than other whites to see Negroes as possessing academic ability and more likely to see Negroes as being good athletes. The stereotypical picture of Negroes is thus held most strongly by those white seniors who are most likely to become "leaders" of society. This would seem to further decrease the chances of Negroes succeeding through academic channels. This stereotyped picture of Negroes also seems to be believed most by the very Negroes who would have the best chance in life--those from white-collar families. Accepting the stereotype would reduce the possibilities of succeeding for these Negro pupils.

A student's educational background also has a small relationship to the characteristics he associates with each race (Table 3.7.52). The stereotype of Negroes as being poor students and good athletes is believed most by white seniors whose parents are well-educated. Negro seniors whose fathers received good educations, however, are most likely to see themselves as both good students and good athletes. They are also likely, however, to overrate the academic ability of whites. The major deterent to the academic success of Negroes from well-educated families would thus seem to come from the derogatory attitudes of well-educated whites toward them. A secondary inference might come from their awe of the academic ability of white students compared to their own.

Discussion

It is encouraging to note that in those schools where contact between the races is greatest there is a corresponding acceptance of interracial education and friendships. This acceptance is particularly evident among Negro or white students when they are in a numerical minority in the school. That is, the proportion of Negroes that white students would like to have as classmates tends to increase with the proportion of nonwhites in the school. Negro pupils also report a preference for more white classmates if they attend a predominantly white school rather than a nonwhite school.

It is unfortunate, on the other hand, that interracial contact in the schools of Connecticut's five major cities does not seem to promote the destruction of racial stereotypes that are used by students in their interactions with members of the other race. Students tend to consider all members of a given race as having positive and negative qualities, therefore, rather than thinking of them as individuals. In particular, a majority of the high school seniors indicated that white students are scholarly and that Negroes are not interested in school work. Moreover, a white superiority myth seems to be most dramatic with regard to the intellectual capacities of the two races.

TABLE 3.7.52

QUALITIES ATTRIBUTED TO RACES FOR TWELFTH GRADE PUPILS WITHIN CATEGORIES OF EDUCATION OF PUPIL'S FATHER

(Percent)

	FATHER'S EDUCATION					
	WHITE PUPILS			NEGRO PUPILS		
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School
White Kids Are:						
Good students	46.4	50.6	42.7	53.8	56.4	80.0
Good athletes	39.0	35.6	37.1	18.9	21.8	20.0
Friendly	79.0	77.5	71.7	78.3	78.2	80.0
Sharp dressers	50.9	48.4	45.1	25.5	41.8	40.0
Sports-minded	49.9	52.5	55.5	28.3	30.9	43.3
Like good times	42.5	44.1	41.6	24.5	29.1	30.0
Hard to know	10.7	10.6	13.3	10.4	12.7	13.3
Snobbish	30.7	30.0	34.4	23.6	29.1	23.3
Not school-minded	10.3	11.2	12.3	7.5	5.5	3.3
Prejudiced	12.0	10.6	13.3	18.9	20.0	10.0
N*	515	320	375	106	55	30

*See footnote at end of table.

TABLE 3.7.52 - Continued

	FATHER'S EDUCATION					
	WHITE PUPILS			NEGRO PUPILS		
	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School	Less Than High School	High School	More Than High School
Negro Kids Are:						
Good students	19.2	16.6	12.8	28.3	34.5	46.7
Good athletes	55.1	56.6	61.5	62.3	69.1	90.0
Friendly	56.9	54.4	61.3	72.6	83.6	86.7
Sharp dressers	43.1	40.9	37.1	59.4	61.8	76.7
Sports-minded	49.1	55.3	56.5	50.9	44.7	80.0
Like good times	42.5	37.2	38.4	50.0	41.8	73.3
Hard to know	22.5	22.8	22.4	14.2	9.1	13.3
Snobbish	18.1	13.7	11.7	13.2	20.0	3.3
Not school-minded	30.7	37.2	39.7	17.0	18.2	23.3
Prejudiced	23.5	20.0	18.4	13.2	20.0	10.0
N*	515	320	375	106	55	30

*Number refers to the number of pupils within each category of father's education. This number was used as the base of the percentages - as the number of pupils who might have checked each quality.

The racial composition of the school proved to be quite influential in these matters, Schools which are attended primarily by Negro students seem to reinforce the unfavorable attitudes of whites toward Negroes. Its depressing climate is reflected in the fact that students who attend such segregated schools dislike them. Moreover, their teachers rate these schools poorly and feel that the students attending them lack ability,effort and interest in school. It is surprising that students feel that the races get along well in settings of this sort. This compatibility may only be a surface compatibility, however, which comes from Negro and white students' interacting in terms of stereotypes.

The findings suggest that neither the social class nor educational background of students has much effect on their attitudes and behavior toward people of another race. The slight positive effect associated with a good educational background on the interactions of students of both races is an encouraging sign but is hardly substantial enough to suggest that further education will significantly alter the relations and understanding among the races.

Chapter Eight

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

De facto school segregation in Connecticut's five major cities has been shown to affect the attitudes and behavior patterns of students. The evidence presented in this investigation suggests that the ratio of Negro to white pupils in a school influences in one way or another most of the attitudes and behaviors which were examined. In general, the effect of segregated schools is to deter the development in students of qualities which would help them to become successful adults. The following is an attempt to summarize the most pertinent findings of this report.

The objective attributes and subjective attitudes of teachers are certainly aspects of the overall school climate which affect the life chances of students. In regard to the "objective" characteristics of their teaching staffs, there is no difference between segregated and integrated schools. That is schools of very different racial compositions are very much alike in terms of the social class backgrounds, educational and professional experience, quality of college work, and "provincialism" of their teachers. Segregated schools are, however, at a decided disadvantage when the "subjective" characteristics of teachers are examined. Teachers in predominantly Negro schools are likely to rank their students as lacking in academic ability, effort and interest in learning. They also report having discipline problems more often than other teachers and are more likely to view their schools as being low in quality. Perhaps this explains, in part, their disenchantment with the teaching profession and their preference for teaching in another school. These "subjective" characteristics of teachers may produce a classroom atmosphere that has consequences for students. It is obvious that students are less likely to perform well in school if their instructors have "labeled" them as lacking in the requisites of academic achievement.

The attitudes and behavior patterns of students were found to vary in schools of different racial compositions. Students of both races who attended segregated schools had lower verbal ability scores on standardized tests and received lower grades than students in other schools.

This would seem to be a result of, and in turn reinforce, the attitudes of the teachers in these schools. The social class and educational backgrounds of white students do explain some of the variation in their academic achievement. Within each occupational and educational category, however, the students' achievement decreased with an increase in the proportion of Negroes in school. Therefore, the negative effect of segregated schools cannot be totally explained by the more humble social origins of the majority of students in segregated schools.

The findings suggest that the racial composition of the school is important in understanding the occupational and educational expectations of its student body. While the social origins of students also affect these expectations, the ratio of Negro to white students maintains its influence when the students' social origins are held constant. It seems, therefore, that the dampened occupational and educational expectations found among students attending segregated schools cannot be explained by their humble occupational and educational backgrounds but must be considered, in part, a result of the depressed atmosphere associated with de facto segregated schools.

It was not surprising to find, moreover, that the students' self-esteem and their sense of control over their occupational and educational futures was rather strongly influenced by the degree of segregation associated with their school. The lowered self-esteem and sense of mastery over their future was clearly associated with predominantly Negro schools, and this relationship is not explained away when the social origins of the students are held constant.

The findings of this report indicate in rather dramatic terms the relatively limited opportunities that Negro youth have for success in the "Expert Society." In general it was found that Negroes had relatively low standardized test scores which were used to indicate academic achievement. They also received lower grades on the average than white students. In contrast to whites they had low educational and occupational expectations, low self-esteem, and believed they had little power to control their own futures. In many ways, segregated schools seemed to reduce all Negro students to the same level--a level characterized by a lack of scholastic success, and by despair and disillusionment with their own abilities. This was true regardless of the social class or educational background of the Negro student. It may well be that this type of school climate is characterized by a subcultural configuration which militates against success in an urban-industrial system.

REFERENCES

Clark, Kenneth B.
1955 Prejudice and Your Child. Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press.
1965 Dark Ghetto. New York: Harper and Row.

Coleman, James S.
1961 The Adolescent Society. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.

Coleman, James S., et al.
1966 Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office.

Conant, James B.
1961 Slums and Suburbs. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Incorporated.

Colfax, J. David, and Irving L. Allen
1967 "Pre-Coded Versus Open-Ended Items and Children's Reports of Fathers' Occupation." Sociology of Education 40(Winter):96-98.

Colfax, J. David
1968 "The Cognitive Self-Concept and School Segregation: Some Preliminary Findings," in William W. Brickman and Stanley Lehrer (eds.), The Tragedy of the Disadvantaged: Imperatives for Education, forthcoming.

Herriott, Robert E., and Nancy Hoyt St. John
1966 Social Class and the Urban School. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated.

Kendall, P. L., and P. L. Lazarsfeld
1950 Continuities in Social Research. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.

Lesser, G. S., et al.
1965 "Mental Abilities of Children From Different Social-Class and Cultural Groups." Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development 30(Number 4).

Rosenberg, Morris
1965 Society and the Adolescent Self Image. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Turner, Ralph H.
1964 The Social Context of Ambition. San Francisco, California: Chandler Publishing Company.

U. S. Civil Rights Commission
1967 Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office.

U. S. Commerce Department
1966 Alphabetical Index of Occupations and Industries. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office.

U. S. Supreme Court
1954 "Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka." 347:483-493.

Wilson, Alan B.
1959 "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys." American Sociological Review 24 (October): 836-845.

PART IV

CHANGES IN RACIAL COMPOSITION AND DE FACTO SEGREGATION OF PUPILS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF FIVE CONNECTICUT CITIES, 1963-1967

PART IV

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES . . . . *iii*

Page

TEXT 1

APPENDIX

A. RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS IN BRIDGEPORT, HARTFORD, NEW HAVEN, WATERBURY, AND STAMFORD, 1963-1967 23

B. INTER-CITY AND REGIONAL COMPARISONS OF SCHOOL SEGREGATION INDEXES - 1965 49

REFERENCES 57

PART IV

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
4. 1. 1	Population Growth and Rates of Change, 1950-1960, for White and Nonwhite Population in Five Connecticut Cities and Suburbs	2
4. 1. 2	Changes in Racial Composition of Public Elementary School Enrollment in Five Connecticut Cities, 1963-1967	4
4. 1. 3	Changes in Racial Composition of Public Senior High School Enrollment in Five Connecticut Cities, 1963-1967	5
4. 1. 4	Changes in Racial Composition of Public Junior High or Middle School Enrollment in New Haven and Stamford, 1963-1967	7
4. 1. 5	Change in Negro Elementary Enrollment in 90-100 Percent Negro, and 50-100 Percent Negro Schools in Five Connecticut Cities, 1963-1967	9
4. 1. 6	Change in Negro and Puerto Rican Elementary Enrollment in 90-100 Percent Negro and Puerto Rican and 50-100 Percent Negro and Puerto Rican Schools in Five Connecticut Cities, 1963-1967	10
4. 1. 7	Changes in Segregation and Replacement Indexes in Elementary Schools in the Five Cities, 1963-1967	17
4. 1. 8	Changes in Segregation and Replacement Indexes in Senior High Schools in the Five Cities, 1963-1967	17
4. 1. 9	Racial Distribution of Pupils, Bridgeport Public Schools, 1963-1964	25
4. 1. 10	Racial Distribution of Pupils, Bridgeport Public Schools, 1964-1965	26
4. 1. 11	Racial Distribution of Pupils, Bridgeport Public Schools, 1965-1966	27
4. 1. 12	Racial Distribution of Pupils, Bridgeport Public Schools, 1966-1967	28

Table Page

4. 1. 13 Racial Distribution of Pupils, Bridgeport Public Schools, 1967-1968 29

4. 1. 14 Racial Distribution of Pupils, Hartford Public Schools, 1963-1964 30

4. 1. 15 Racial Distribution of Pupils, Hartford Public Schools, 1964-1965 31

4. 1. 16 Racial Distribution of Pupils, Hartford Public Schools, 1965-1966 32

4. 1. 17 Racial Distribution of Pupils, Hartford Public Schools, 1966-1967 33

4. 1. 18 Racial Distribution of Pupils, Hartford Public Schools, 1967-1968 34

4. 1. 19 Racial Distribution of Pupils, New Haven Public Schools, 1963-1964 35

4. 1. 20 Racial Distribution of Pupils, New Haven Public Schools, 1964-1965 36

4. 1. 21 Racial Distribution of Pupils, New Haven Public Schools, 1965-1966 37

4. 1. 22 Racial Distribution of Pupils, New Haven Public Schools, 1966-1967 38

4. 1. 23 Racial Distribution of Pupils, New Haven Public Schools, 1967-1968 39

4. 1. 24 Racial Distribution of Pupils, Stamford Public Schools, 1963-1964 40

4. 1. 25 Racial Distribution of Pupils, Stamford Public Schools, 1964-1965 41

4. 1. 26 Racial Distribution of Pupils, Stamford Public Schools, 1965-1966 42

4. 1. 27 Racial Distribution of Pupils, Stamford Public Schools, 1966-1967 43

4. 1. 28 Racial Distribution of Pupils, Stamford Public Schools, 1967-1968 44

Table Page

4. 1. 29 Racial Distribution of Pupils, Waterbury Public Schools, 1963-1964 45

4. 1. 30 Racial Distribution of Pupils, Waterbury Public Schools, 1965-1966 46

4. 1. 31 Racial Distribution of Pupils, Waterbury Public Schools, 1966-1967 47

4. 1. 32 Percent of Negro Pupils, and Segregation Indexes of Public Elementary, Junior High, and Senior High School Systems in Selected Cities by Regions, 1965 (Cities with Population of 50,000 - 99,999) 51

4. 1. 33 Percent of Negro Pupils, and Segregation Indexes of Public Elementary, Junior High, and Senior High School Systems in Selected Cities by Regions, 1965 (Cities with Population of 100,000 - 249,000) 53

4. 1. 34 Percent of Negro Pupils, and Segregation Indexes of Public Elementary, Junior High, and Senior High School Systems in Selected Cities by Regions, 1965 (Cities with Population of 250,000 - 499,999) 55

4. 1. 35 Percent of Negro Pupils, and Segregation Indexes of Public Elementary, Junior High, and Senior High School Systems in Selected Cities by Regions, 1965 (Cities with Population of 500,000 or More) 56

The Connecticut cities included within the scope of this study--Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, Stamford, Waterbury--all experienced an unusual rate of growth in their nonwhite population in the decade between 1950 and 1960, and in the process laid the groundwork for the substantially accelerated de facto segregation in the public schools that characterizes the decade of the 1960's.

Between 1950 and 1960, the nonwhite population increase was 127 percent in Bridgeport, 97 percent in Hartford, 131 percent in New Haven, 93 percent in Stamford, and 97 percent in Waterbury. At the same time the white population decreased by seven percent in Bridgeport, 17 percent in Hartford, 16 percent in New Haven, and one percent in Waterbury. Stamford was the only city among the five that showed an increase of 21 percent in its white population in this period (Table 4.1.1). At the same time that these changes were occurring in the central, or core cities of the metropolitan areas, the white population in the suburban towns surrounding the core cities increased at an average rate of 54 percent over the decade. In numerical terms, this involved an increment of about 300,000 white persons. While the nonwhite population of the suburban towns also increased at a substantial rate--72 percent for the decade--it involved a relatively small number--about 10,000 persons. The large increment of white families in the suburbs consisted of those who either fled from, or avoided taking up initial residence in the core cities.

These five Connecticut cities are all in the medium-sized population category (100,000 - 500,000). Eunice and George Grier [1961] have pointed out that "Although the largest cities have generally registered the largest numerical gains, the largest proportional gains have been experienced by medium-sized cities in the 100,000 - 500,000 range." In 1960 [U.S. Bureau of the Census 1963] there were about 35 such medium-sized cities scattered throughout 16 States in the North and West, all of which had shown Negro population increases ranging from 35 percent in Providence, Rhode Island to 210 percent in Rochester, New York. However, only five of the medium-sized cities outside Connecticut[1] had shown Negro population increases in excess of the 131 percent gain registered in New Haven.

---

[1] Rochester, N.Y. (210 percent); Syracuse, N.Y. (144 percent); Flint, Michigan (148 percent); Racine, Wisconsin (218 percent); Sacramento, California (166 percent).

TABLE 4.1.1

POPULATION GROWTH AND RATES OF CHANGE, 1950-1960, FOR WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATION IN FIVE CONNECTICUT CITIES AND SUBURBS

	WHITE POPULATION			NONWHITE POPULATION		
	1950	1960	PERCENT INCREASE 1950-1960	1950	1960	PERCENT INCREASE 1950-1960
TOTAL (5 SMSA'S)						
Central City	642,208	592,553	- 7.7	37,111	78,264	110.9
Ring	554,138	851,252	53.6	6,066	10,447	72.2
BRIDGEPORT SMSA						
Central City	151,853	141,183	- 7.0	6,856	15,565	127.0
Ring	113,685	175,630	54.5	1,329	2,198	65.4
HARTFORD SMSA						
Central City	164,607	137,027	-16.8	12,790	25,151	96.6
Ring	226,949	358,852	58.1	2,188	4,177	90.9
NEW HAVEN SMSA						
Central City	154,618	129,383	-16.3	9,825	22,665	130.7
Ring	104,116	157,587	51.4	1,155	2,046	77.1
STAMFORD SMSA						
Central City	70,314	85,051	21.0	3,979	7,662	92.6
Ring	59,390	85,015	41.5	1,213	1,681	38.6
WATERBURY SMSA						
Central City	100,816	99,909	- 0.9	3,661	7,221	97.2
Ring	49,998	74,168	48.3	181	340	87.8

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census: U.S. Census of Population: 1960. General Population Characteristics, Connecticut. Final Report PC(1) - 8B Washington: 1961, Table 21.

The decision to concentrate our attention on the five Connecticut cities was influenced by the fact that in spite of their high rate of nonwhite population increase between 1950 and 1960, they nevertheless entered the present decade with relatively small percentages of nonwhites. Thus in 1960 Negroes[2] constituted only 15 percent of the population in Hartford and New Haven; ten percent in Bridgeport; eight percent in Stamford; and seven percent in Waterbury Unlike the situation in the larger Northern cities with their heavily populated ghettoes, it was felt that the Connecticut cities would afford the opportunity to study an emerging type of de facto segregation before the lines of communication between the white and Negro communities had completely broken down. However, we shall presently see that by mid-decade, these percentages of Negro population in the Connecticut cities did not adequately reflect the proportion of Negro pupils in the public schools--especially the elementary schools.

Our data on the racial composition of public school enrollment were secured directly from the school systems in each of the five cities for the years 1963 through 1967.[3]

Enrollment of all elementary school pupils in the composite of five core cities increased by only five percent between 1963 and 1967. Racially, however, white elementary school pupils decreased by 12 percent, whereas Negro elementary pupils increased by 27 percent, and Puerto Rican elementary pupils by 94 percent. Hartford had the highest increase of Negro elementary pupils (29 percent), and Waterbury the least increase (19 percent). Hartford also registered the greatest increase in Puerto Rican pupils, probably in excess of 300 percent (Table 4.1.2).

Changes in the enrollment of senior high school pupils in the composite of five core cities were consistent with similar shifts in the elementary enrollment: an overall increase of seven percent; a decrease in white enrollment (10 percent); and increases in Negro (75 percent) and Puerto Rican enrollment (169 percent). However, it should be noted that the percentages of increase in Negro and Puerto Rican senior high school pupils were greater than their elementary counterparts in each of the five cities, indicating an acceleration in the rate at which these minorities were taking advantage of a high school education (Table 4.1.3).

Only two of the systems--New Haven and Stamford--had junior high or middle schools over the five year period. In the New Haven system, a comparison between the 1963 and 1967 enrollments is inconclusive because in 1966, 9th grade pupils were transferred to the senior high schools and thereafter not included in the middle school category.

---

[2] In the entire State of Connecticut, there is very little difference between the proportion of "nonwhites" (111,418 or 4.4 percent) and "Negroes" (107,449 or 4.2 percent).

[3] Exception was the Waterbury school system where data were available only for the years 1963, 1965, and 1966.

TABLE 4.1.2

CHANGES IN RACIAL COMPOSITION OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN FIVE CONNECTICUT CITIES, 1963-1967

(Percent)

	1963	1967	Change 1963-1967
BRIDGEPORT			
Total Enrollment	100.0	100.0	- 1.3
White	62.9	52.2	-18.0
Negro	26.0	32.5	23.5
Puerto Rican	11.1	15.0	33.2
Other	-	(47)	-
N	18,852	18,615	- 237
HARTFORD			
Total Enrollment	100.0	100.0	11.6
White	57.0	41.0	-19.8
Negro	39.9	45.9	28.5
Puerto Rican	3.1(a)	12.8	352.9
Other	-	(70)	-
N	18,899	21,089	2,190
NEW HAVEN			
Total Enrollment	100.0	100.0	- 2.8
White	56.9	43.5	-25.8
Negro	39.5	50.3	22.7
Puerto Rican	3.2	5.6	72.7
Other	(56)	(76)	(20)
N	13,429	13,050	- 379
STAMFORD			
Total Enrollment	100.0	100.0	15.3
White	83.3	77.3	7.0
Negro	14.4	18.9	51.3
Puerto Rican	1.8	3.3	112.0
Other	(48)	(52)	(4)
N	10,594	12,215	1,621
WATERBURY			
Total Enrollment	100.0	100.0*	4.6**
White	79.2	75.2	- 0.6
Negro	17.4	19.8	18.5
Puerto Rican	3.4	4.8	47.8
Other	-	(29)	-
N	12,541	13,114	573
FIVE CITIES			
Total Enrollment	100.0	100.0	5.1
White	66.0	55.5	-11.6
Negro	28.9	34.8	26.8
Puerto Rican	5.0	9.3	94.3
Other	(104)	(274)	(170)
N	74,315	78,083	3,768

(a) Estimate (probably conservative)
*1966 **1963-1966

TABLE 4.1.3

CHANGES IN RACIAL COMPOSITION OF PUBLIC SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN FIVE CONNECTICUT CITIES, 1963-1967

(Percent)

	1963	1967	Change 1963-1967
BRIDGEPORT			
Total Enrollment	100.0	100.0	- 6.9
White	82.5	67.5	-23.9
Negro	12.9	24.1	74.3
Puerto Rican	4.6	8.3	69.8
Other	-	-	-
N	5,742	5,344	- 398
HARTFORD			
Total Enrollment	100.0	100.0	2.7
White	74.7	57.0	-21.6
Negro	25.3	44.1	53.3
Puerto Rican	(a)	4.8	-
Other	(a)	(26)	-
N	6,061	6,226	165
NEW HAVEN			
Total Enrollment	100.0	100.0	34.7
White	78.9	59.4	1.4
Negro	20.5	38.2	150.9
Puerto Rican	0.4	1.9	537.5
Other	(9)	(25)	(16)
N	3,948	5,316	1,368
STAMFORD			
Total Enrollment	100.0	100.0	12.8
White	89.9	86.3	8.2
Negro	9.4	11.9	41.9
Puerto Rican	0.5	1.4	200.0
Other	(2)	(17)	(15)
N	3,138	3,541	403
WATERBURY			
Total Enrollment	100.0	100.0*	2.4**
White	90.5	88.4	0.1
Negro	8.2	10.3	28.5
Puerto Rican	1.3	1.2	- 5.0
Other	-	(5)	-
N	4,491	4,600	109
FIVE CITIES			
Total Enrollment	100.0	100.0	7.0
White	82.4	69.7	- 9.5
Negro	16.0	26.2	75.2
Puerto Rican	1.5	3.8	168.9
Other	(11)	(73)	(62)
N	23,380	25,027	1,647

(a) not available

*1966 **1963-1966

This shift probably accounted in part for the unusually large increase in Negro enrollment (150 percent) in the senior high schools of New Haven between 1963 and 1967. Racial changes in junior high school enrollment in Stamford were consistent with similar changes in elementary and senior high school enrollments between 1963 and 1967 (Table 4.1.4).

Racial isolation, racial imbalance, or de facto segregation by race are terms frequently used to describe the separation of pupils in the public school systems. Whether such separation results initially from segregation statutes (as in the South), or is the end-product of neighborhood segregation (as in the urban North), the net effect on minority racial groups is the same--creating feelings of economic, social, and psychological inferiority.

Quantitative measures of the magnitude of such separation are useful to describe the position of a particular school system in (1) relation to other systems at the same time, and (2) in relation to the same system at different periods of time. For the purpose of demonstrating the relative position of the school systems of our five cities over a five-year period, and comparing their position with that of selected school systems elsewhere in the United States, we have utilized two measures which we shall refer to as (1) the Racial isolation index, and (2) the Racial segregation index. Both types measure the degree of racial separation, and both types are introduced here in order to facilitate comparisons with data appearing elsewhere.

Racial Isolation Index

Racial isolation of a particular minority group can be described in terms of the percentage of minority pupils in schools having (1) 90-100 percent, and (2) 50-100 percent of that particular minority. The United States Commission on Civil Rights [Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, 1967:2-10] utilized this measure in its study of school systems throughout the United States, revealing that Negro pupils are the victims of varying degrees of such isolation regardless of the region where they attend school.

Computation of the racial isolation index from enrollment data for the five Connecticut cities[4] presents evidence of substantial isolation of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils in the elementary schools, as well as an acceleration of such isolation between 1963 and 1967.

---

[4] Detailed data on the racial distribution of enrollment in every public school for the years 1963 to 1967 are given in Appendix A, for the Bridgeport system (Tables 4.1.9 to 4.1.13), for Hartford (Tables 4.1.14 to 4.1.18), for New Haven (Tables 4.1.19 to 4.1.23), for Stamford (Tables 4.1.24 to 4.1.28), and for Waterbury (Tables 4.1.29 to 4.1.31). In all of the tables, the schools are ranked according to percentage of Negro enrollment. The tables contain all of the data necessary for the computation of racial isolation or racial segregation indexes.

TABLE 4.1.4

CHANGES IN RACIAL COMPOSITION OF PUBLIC JUNIOR HIGH OR MIDDLE SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN NEW HAVEN AND STAMFORD, 1963-1967

(Percent)

	1963	1967	Change 1963-1967
NEW HAVEN			
Total Enrollment	100.0	100.0	-22.8
White	61.7	47.0	-41.2
Negro	36.7	48.8	2.7
Puerto Rican	1.4	3.6	94.1
Other	(7)	(17)	(10)
N	3,540	2,733*	- 807
STAMFORD			
Total Enrollment	100.0	100.0	20.6
White	84.7	82.6	17.7
Negro	12.8	15.0	41.2
Puerto Rican	1.8	2.1	36.4
Other	(25)	(12)	(-13)
N	3,629	4,375	746

*Designated as Middle Schools

Bridgeport Elementary Schools

In 1963 Bridgeport had no 90-100 percent Negro schools, and in 1967 only four percent of all Negro pupils were attending such schools (Table 4.1.5). However, Bridgeport had the largest number of Puerto Rican pupils in any Connecticut city, and when they are combined with Negro pupils, we find that 29 percent in 1963 and 22 percent in 1967 were attending schools having 90-100 percent Negro and Puerto Rican pupils (Table 4.1.6). In any system having a substantial Puerto Rican minority, it is necessary to make this combination in order to avoid the impression that white and nonwhite pupils are highly integrated. The authors of the United States Commission on Civil Rights report [1967:5, foonote 20] were aware of this problem when they presented data on the combined isolation of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils from white pupkls in the New York City school system.

Between 1963 and 1967, the percentage of Negro pupils in Bridgeport attending schools in which the majority (50-100 percent) of pupils were Negro increased from 40 to 58 percent (Table 4.1.5). When Negro and Puerto Rican pupils are combined, the percentage increased from 71 to 75 percent (Table 4.1.6). The latter percentage is crucial because it shows that in Bridgeport in 1967, only 25 percent of all Negro and Puerto Rican pupils were attending schools in which white pupils (other than Puerto Ricans) were in the majority.

Hartford Elementary Schools

Between 1963 and 1967 the percentage of Negro pupils attending 90-100 percent Negro schools declined from 41 to 24 percent (Table 4.1.5). This decline however is illusory from the standpoint of racial integration. Hartford, in common with Bridgeport, also has a substantial Puerto Rican population, and when we combine Negro and Puerto Rican pupils we find that their percentage attending 90-100 percent Negro and Puerto Rican schools actually increased from 51 percent in 1963 to 70 percent in 1967 (Table 4.1.6). Elementary schools, such as Arsenal and Barnard-Brown are examples of schools in which high percentages of Negro pupils are being gradually displaced by Puerto Rican pupils, but in which white pupils (other than Puerto Ricans) constitute a mere one percent of the enrollment.

Turning our attention to schools with a majority (50-100 percent) of Negro pupils, we find also that there was a slight decrease from 87 to 80 in the percent of Negro pupils attending such schools. Again, this trend is reversed when we combine Negro and Puerto Rican pupils and find that there actually was an increase from 85 to 91 in the percentage of all Negro and Puerto Rican pupils attending schools where they were in the majority (50-100 percent Negro and Puerto Rican).

TABLE 4.1.5

CHANGE IN NEGRO ELEMENTARY ENROLLMENT IN 90-100 PERCENT NEGRO, AND 50-100 PERCENT NEGRO SCHOOLS IN FIVE CONNECTICUT CITIES, 1963-1967

(Percent)

	YEAR 1963				YEAR 1967			
	NEGRO PUPILS IN 90-100% NEGRO SCHOOLS		NEGRO PUPILS IN 50-100% NEGRO SCHOOLS		NEGRO PUPILS IN 90-100% NEGRO SCHOOLS		NEGRO PUPILS IN 50-100% NEGRO SCHOOLS	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
BRIDGEPORT	-	-	1,938	39.6	240	4.0	3,532	58.4
HARTFORD	3,111	41.3	6,525	86.6	2,292	23.7	7,738	79.9
NEW HAVEN	1,736	32.7	4,015	75.7	2,309	35.1	5,709	86.9
STAMFORD	-	-	603	39.5	-	-	1,393	60.3
WATERBURY	-	-	1,272	58.2	-	-	1,292*	49.8

*1966

TABLE 4.1.6

CHANGE IN NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN ELEMENTARY ENROLLMENT IN 90-100 PERCENT NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN, AND 50-100 PERCENT NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN SCHOOLS IN FIVE CONNECTICUT CITIES, 1963-1967

(Percent)

	YEAR 1963				YEAR 1967			
	N. AND P.R. PUPILS IN 90-100% NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN SCHOOLS		N. AND P.R. PUPILS IN 50-100% NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN SCHOOLS		N. AND P.R. PUPILS IN 90-100% NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN SCHOOLS		N. AND P.R. PUPILS IN 50-100% NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN SCHOOLS	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
BRIDGEPORT	2,006	28.7	4,981	71.3	1,899	21.5	6,667	75.4
HARTFORD	4,146	51.0	6,870	84.5	8,635	69.8	11,204	90.5
NEW HAVEN	1,774	31.0	4,631	80.8	2,874	39.4	6,485	88.8
STAMFORD	-	-	1,261	73.4	565	20.8	1,664	61.2
WATERBURY	550	21.1	1,364	52.3	565*	17.6	2,048*	63.7

*1966

In this respect, Hartford ranks highest (though followed closely by New Haven) in the degree of racial isolation of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils in the elementary school system. Only nine percent of all Negro and Puerto Rican elementary pupils were attending schools in which whites (other than Puerto Ricans) were in the majority.

In 1966, the Hartford school system in cooperation with a number of suburban school systems in the Hartford metropolitan area inaugurated a plan, known as "Project Concern," for bussing a small group of elementary pupils from Hartford schools to suburban schools. In 1966 this plan involved 255 pupils of whom 227 were Negro, 24 Puerto Rican, and four white, (Table 4.1.17). In 1967 a total of 318 pupils were bussed, of whom 281 were Negro, 30 Puerto Rican, and seven white (Table 4.1.18). While this plan in its first two years of operation succeeded in integrating the bussed pupils in the suburban white schools, the plan--because of the relatively small number of pupils taken from Hartford--had very little effect on the overall racial isolation index of the Hartford system.

New Haven Elementary Schools

Between 1963 and 1967 the percentage of Negro pupils attending 90-100 percent Negro schools increased slightly from 33 to 35 percent (Table 4.1.5). Since New Haven has a relatively small Puerto Rican enrollment, the combined Negro and Puerto Rican enrollment in 90-100 percent Negro and Puerto Rican schools increased only from 31 to 39 percent (Table 4.1.6).

Enrollment of Negro pupils in schools having a majority (50-100 percent) of Negro pupils increased from 76 to 87 percent in the five year interval between 1963 and 1967. Combined Negro and Puerto Rican pupils in schools having a majority (50-100 percent) of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils showed a similar trend from 81 to 89 percent between 1963 and 1967. Thus the New Haven schools ranked bery high and very cloce to Hartford in the degree of racial isolation of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils, with only 11 percent attending schools in which white pupkls (other than Puerto Ricans) constituted a majority of the enrollment.

Stamford Elementary Schools

In comparison with Bridgeport, Hartford and New Haven, Stamford has a relatively small Negro and Puerto Rican enrollment. There were no schools in the 90-100 percent Negro category, either in 1963 or 1967. However, by 1967, 21 percent of the combined Negro and Puerto Rican pupils were attending schools having 90-100 percent Negro and Puerto Rican pupils (Table 4.1.6).

In schools having a majority of Negro pupils (50-100 percent), Negro enrollment increased from 40 to 60 percent between 1963 and 1967 (Table 4.1.5). When Negro and Puerto Rican pupils are combined, their percentage attending majority Negro and Puerto Rican schools (50-100 percent) actually decreased from 73 to 61 percent between 1963 and 1967. However, even with this decrease, there were still only 39 percent attending schools in which the majority of pupils were white.

Waterbury Elementary Schools

Similar to Stamford, Waterbury also has a relatively small Negro and Puerto Rican enrollment. There were no schools with a 90-100 percent Negro enrollment, either in 1963 or 1966 (the last year for which data were available). Combined Negro and Puerto Rican pupils in 90-100 percent Negro and Puerto Rican schools decreased from 21 to 18 percent between 1963 and 1966 (Table 4.1.6).

In majority Negro schools (50-100 percent) the percent of Negro pupils actually declined from 58 to 50 percent between 1963 and 1966 (Table 4.1.5). Waterbury was the only city among the five which showed such a decline. However, when Negro and Puerto Rican pupils are combined, their percentage increased from 52 to 64 percent in schools having a majority (50-100 percent) of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils. Thus only 36 percent of all Negro and Puerto Rican pupils were attending schools in which the majority of pupils were white.

The preceding analysis of racial isolation in the elementary school systems of all five cities reveals a trend in the direction of increasing isolation of white (other than Puerto Rican) pupils from Negro and Puerto Rican pupils between 1963 and 1967. This trend is particularly evident in those schools which had a majority (50-100 percent) of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils (Table 4.1.6).

Racial Segregation Index

Our use of an index of racial segregation provides an additional dimension for measuring the magnitude of racial separation in the school systems of the five cities, as well as furnishing a means for making comparisons with school systems located outside Connecticut.

The racial segregation index not only reflects the existence of intensive levels of imbalance comparable to those revealed by the racial isolation index, but also is sensitive to those situations where minority group pupils may be channelled into a few schools even though they may constitute less than 50 percent in any particular school. Also, the racial segregation index is relatively unaffected by token integration, i.e., those situations where a small number of minority pupils may be introduced into a previously all-white school, or a small number of white pupils may be introduced into a previously all-Negro school in the central city system.

Our method of calculating the racial segregation, or dissimilarity index (D) follows the same procedure utilized by Karl and Alma Taeuber [1965] in calculating their index of Negro residential segregation in United States cities. However, our index utilizes the racial distribution of pupils in the elementary, junior high, or senior high schools within the system of a particular city, whereas their index was applied to the racial distribution of the population, by city blocks, within a particular city.[5]

---

[5] We quote directly from Karl and Alma Taeuber [1965:29-30]: "our segregation index is an index of dissimilarity, and its underlying rationale as a measure of residential segregation is simple: Suppose that whether a person was Negro or white made no difference in his choice of residence, and that his race was not related to any other factors affecting residential location (for instance, income level). Then no neighborhood would be all-Negro or all-white, but rather each race would be represented in each neighborhood in approximately the same proportion as in the city as a whole. Thus, in a city where Negroes constitute half the population, the residents of any city block would be about equally divided between Negroes and whites. In a city where Negroes constitute ten percent of the population, one of every ten households in each block might be expected to be Negro. This situation would represent a completely even distribution of Negroes and whites, with the same proportion Negro in each and every block. For this situation, the segregation index assumes a value of zero, indicating no racial residential segregation whatsoever.

"The opposite situation, that of a completely uneven or segregated distribution, occurs if there is no residential intermixture of whites and Negroes, Operationally, this situation obtains if each city block contains only whites or only Negroes, but not both. For this situation, the segregation index assumes a value of 100, indicating a maximum degree of residential segregation.

"The index of residential segregation can assume values between 0 and 100. The higher the value, the higher the degree of residential segregation, and the lower the value, the greater the degree of residential intermixture. The value of the index may be interpreted as showing the minimum percentage of nonwhites who whould have to change the block on which they live in order to produce an unsegregated distribution--one in which the percentage of nonwhites living on each block is the same throughout the city (0 on the index)..."

The segregation index is calculated according to the formula:

$$D = 100 \left(\frac{N_1}{N} - \frac{W_1}{W} \right) \text{ where}$$

N = total number of Negro pupils in the elementary, junior high, or senior high schools in a particular city.

W = total number of white pupils in the elementary, junior high, or senior high schools in a particular city.

N_1 = the number of Negro pupils in schools having a percentage of Negro pupils greater than their percentage in the entire elementary, junior high, or senior high school system in a particular city.

W_1 = the number of white pupils in schools having a percentage of Negro pupils greater than the Negro percentage in the entire elementary, junior high, or senior high school system in a particular city.

The segregation index must, of course, be calculated separately for the entire elementary, junior high, or senior high school systems in order to point up differences in the degree of racial segregation on the various educational levels.

School segregation indexes may range in value from 0 (no segregation) to 100 (maximum segregation), similar to the Taeuber's residential segregation index.

Elementary School Segregation Indexes

We shall take the racial distribution of elementary school pupils in the Hartford system in 1963-1964 as an example for the computation of the segregation index (D). Complete data for the Hartford system for that year are given in Appendix A (Table 4.1.14). In 1963-1964, there were a total of 7,532 Negro pupils (N) constituting 39.9 percent of all pupils in the system. There were a total of 10,772 white pupils (W). There were seven schools with a Negro percentage in excess of 39.9 percent, having a total of 6,525 Negro pupils (N_1). In these same seven schools there were a total of 1,376 white pupils (W_1). Substituting these values in the formula

$$D = 100 \left(\frac{6525}{7532} - \frac{1376}{10772} \right)$$

the resulting segregation index is 74 which means, theoretically, that the achievement of a perfect balance of Negro and white pupils (39.9 percent Negro in every school) would involve the transfer of 74 percent of all Negro pupils into schools having less than 39.9 percent Negro pupils. Such a procedure, however, would be unrealistic since it would mean that many schools which were formerly predominantly Negro would be left with very few pupils, thereby under-utilizing those facilities, and at the same time placing unusual, if not impossible pressures on the facilities of the schools receiving the Negro pupils. A more realistic procedure would be to replace every Negro pupil moved out of a particular school with a white pupil moved in from some other school. The nature of this problem is recognized by Farley and Taeuber [1968:956] in regard to residential desegregation where they make the observation that "moving persons of only one race is unrealistic in the sense that it would depopulate many areas and require substantial additional housing in others. More realistic is a series of exchanges of white and Negro households, accomplishing desegregation white maintaining existing housing stock."

Walker, Stinchcome, and McDill [1967:5-6] also were cognizant of the problem in their study of school desegregation in Baltimore, and supplemented their analysis with the use of a replacement index (R). In their own words "our replacement procedure will always move an equal number of Negroes and whites, replacing a student of one race with a student of another race. In each school we take the total number of students enrolled, regardless of racial composition, as an indication of the number of students which this school can accommodate. Taking this number as one constraint on how we redistribute our school population to achieve a balanced situation, we determine the proportion of the total school population (Negro and white combined) that this school serves. Using that proportion we then proceed by asking how many white and Negro students we need to move in order to both achieve a racial balance and keep our total in each school the same number as it originally was."

The replacement index[6] utilized in their Baltimore study is

$R = 2D\,(N/T)\;(W/T)$ where

D = dissimilarity index

N = total number of Negro students in the system

W = total number of white students in the system

$T = N + W$

---

[6] This index provides for the conversion from one index (D) to the other (R). For the derivation of the replacement index, see Walker, Stinchcombe, and McDill [1967:42-43].

Again, using the racial distribution of elementary school pupils in the Hartford system (1963-1964), we derive a replacement index of 36 for that year by substituting the following values in the R formula: D = 74; N = 7,532; W = 10,772; N + W = 18,304.

$$R = 148 \left(\frac{7{,}532}{18{,}304}\right) \left(\frac{10{,}772}{18{,}304}\right)$$

This replacement index of 36 means that in 1963-1964, a total of 6,589 white and Negro pupils, or 36 percent of all white and Negro pupils enrolled in all elementary schools, would have had to be moved from one elementary school to another in order to achieve a perfect balance of Negro and white pupils in all elementary schools.

Turning our attention to all five cities, it is apparent that indexes of segregation (D) as well as replacement indexes (R) for the elementary schools changed very little between the years 1963 and 1967 (Table 4.1.7). Hartford had the highest replacement index among all the cities and was relatively unaffected by the suburban bussing program which involved relatively few pupils. Waterbury had the highest segregation index (75 in 1963, and 73 in 1966) though its replacement index was relatively low (23 in 1966). Replacement indexes tend to be lower in the cities having smaller percentages of Negro pupils (Bridgeport, Stamford, and Waterbury) because the achievement of perfect racial balance in these systems would involve the movement of fewer pupils than in the cities of Hartford and New Haven which have the higher percentages of Negro pupils. Also, the replacement indexes might be slightly different in Bridgeport and Hartford if Puerto Rican pupils were grouped with Negroes in the calculation of the index. There would be little effect in the other cities because Puerto Rican elementary pupils constitute a relatively small percentage of all pupils.

The magnitude of the problem of desegregating the elementary schools in the five Connecticut cities is apparent if we apply the 1967 replacement indexes (Table 4.1.7) to the total number of Negro and white pupils enrolled (Appendix A). In order to achieve a perfect racial balance of white and Negro pupils in each of the central city elementary schools in 1967 Hartford would have had to transfer 6,413 pupils, Bridgeport 4,100 pupils, New Haven, 3,898 pupils, Waterbury 2,866 pupils, and Stamford 2,551 pupils. Such transfers would not only involve movement of pupils out of neighborhoods of residence, but would be further complicated by the fact that it is usually easier to transfer a Negro pupil into a predominantly white school than it is to move a white pupil into a predominantly Negro school.

Although not included within the scope of our study, the city of Norwalk, Connecticut provides a good example of how the redistribution of Negro pupils in the elementary system can reduce segregation as reflected in changes in the segregation and replacement indexes.

TABLE 4.1.7

CHANGES IN SEGREGATION AND REPLACEMENT INDEXES IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN THE FIVE CITIES, 1963-1967

	SEGREGATION INDEX (D)		REPLACEMENT INDEX (R)	
	1963	1967	1963	1967
Bridgeport	60	60	23	26
Hartford	74	71	36	35
New Haven	64	65	31	32
Stamford	68	65	17	20
Waterbury	75	73*	22	23*

*1966

TABLE 4.1.8

CHANGES IN SEGREGATION AND REPLACEMENT INDEXES IN SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS IN THE FIVE CITIES, 1963-1967

	SEGREGATION INDEX (D)		REPLACEMENT INDEX (R)	
	1963	1967	1963	1967
Bridgeport	11	9	2	3
Hartford	36	38	14	18
New Haven	2	16	1	7
Stamford	17	5	3	1
Waterbury	32	8*	5	2*

*1966

10

In 1963-1964, the Norwalk elementary system had a segregation index of 67, and a replacement index of 14. By 1966-1967, after the redistribution had taken place, the segregation index was reduced to 23, and the replacement index to six. To our knowledge, this was the most significant change in the direction of achieving racial balance in the elementary schools in any city in Connecticut.[7]

It is apparent after examination of the replacement indexes that the achievement of racial desegregation in neighborhood elementary schools in the five cities would involve the transfer of substantial numbers of pupils from one neighborhood to another, and at the same time would necessitate the transfer of white pupils to schools in Negro areas if elementary school facilities in those areas were to be utilized. Suburban bussing programs as an effective device for reducing minority group segregation in the central cities would be contingent upon (1) the numbers that would be voluntarily accepted by the suburban school systems, and (2) the rapidity with which it is done because of the annual increase in minority pupils in the central cities resulting from high birth-rates and in-migration. Also there is always the question of how far the suburban systems would go in the direction of increasing their percentages of minority pupils without similar increases being made in central city schools which now have low percentages of minority pupils.

High School Segregation Indexes

By 1967, each of the five cities had three high schools, with the exception of Stamford which had two. With one exception--the Bulkeley high school in Hartford--these schools have generally drawn their pupils from both the white and nonwhite community. The result has been that charges of racial imbalance are rarely levelled against the high school system. As late as 1967-1968, Weaver in Hartford was the only high school in all five cities that had a Negro enrollment in excess of 50 percent (actually 68.4 percent). On the other hand, the Bulkeley high school in the southend of Hartford had the lowest enrollment of Negroes (1.7 percent) of any high school in the five cities. Thus the segregation index for the Hartford high school system was 38--the highest in the State--and the replacement index was 18 (Table 4.1.8). This means that 18 percent, or approximately 1,062 white and Negro high school pupils would have had to be transferred from one high school to another in order to achieve racial balance. The number would be slightly higher if Puerto Rican pupils were included in the transfer.

Waterbury high schools had a segregation index of 32 in 1963-1964, but this was reduced to eight by 1966-1967, with a replacement index of two.

---

[7] In 1966-67, 14.4 percent of all elementary pupils in Norwalk were Negro, ranking just below Stamford with 18.9 percent, and Waterbury with 19.8 percent.

The segregation index in Stamford high schools dropped from 17 to five between 1963 and 1967, with the lowest replacement index (1) of all the cities. Bridgeport's segregation indexes were relatively low both in 1963 and 1967. Although the New Haven high schools had the lowest segregation index of all in 1963, (2) this had increased to 16 by 1967 despite the addition of a new high school in the intervening years. The replacement index was seven in 1967.

It is essential to bear in mind that there would be certain minor fluctuations in both segregation and replacement indexes in any system even where the most determined effort was being made to achieve racial balance. Such fluctuations could result from unpredictable additions or deletions of white and Negro pupils during the course of a school year, thus affecting the Negro-white ratio of pupils.

Inter-City and Regional Comparisons

The data presented in Appendix B (Tables 4.1.32 through 4.1.35) on Negro enrollment and school segregation indexes are designed to provide comparisons between Connecticut cities and other cities of varying population size throughout the Unites States. All of these tables contain data on the percent of nonwhite population in 1960 (Column I) derived from the U. S. Census of Population; residential segregation indexes (Column II) derived from Karl E. Taeuber's study [1964:40-41); percent of Negro pupils in the elementary, junior high, and senior high schools in 1965 (Column III) derived through correspondence with school superintendents[8]; and segregation indexes for the elementary, junior high, and senior high school systems in 1965 (Column IV) derived from school enrollment data furnished by the school superintendents.

Differences in school segregation indexes between cities and regions are contingent on a wide variety of factors. Southern cities, with their heritage of "separate but equal" schools in general continue to rank very high on the segregation index scale in spite of the U. S. Supreme Court decision which declared such racial segregation unconstitutional. Northern cities with high Negro enrollments generally rank not too far below Southern cities in their elementary school segregation indexes--a situation initiated by de facto residential segregation, but usually perpetuated by the refusal of the systems to modify or discard the principle of neighborhood elementary schools.

---

[8] Data are not available for all cities in each population category because some school systems either ignored our request or refused to furnish the material.

Cities With a Population of 50,000 - 99,999

Among cities in this category, Norwalk's elementary school segregation index of 23, and New Britain's index of 48 compare favorably with other cities in the Northeast and Middle Atlantic States (Table 4.1.32). Stamford's elementary index of 71 should be considered along with cities in the 100,000 - 249,999 category because Stamford had actually advanced into the higher population bracket by 1965. Junior high school segregation indexes in the Northeast and Middle Atlantic cities generally fall somewhere between the elementary and high school indexes because their enrollments are usually drawn from larger areas than those of the elementary schools. thereby cutting accross white and Negro residential neighborhoods. Senior high school indexes are generally low in the Northeastern and Middle Atlantic cities, also reflecting enrollments which cut accross white and Negro neighborhoods.

School segregation indexes in southern cities are generally high on all educational levels. The fact that senior high indexes show little variation from elementary or junior high indexes is indicative of a continuing policy of school segregation, despite some efforts in the direction of limited token integration.

Cities With a Population of 100,000 - 249,999

Comparisons in this population category provide the best means of evaluating the position of the five largest Connecticut cities in relation to cities located in other states and regions (Table 4.1.33). Here we observe that on the elementary school level, the Connecticut cities have about the same degree of de facto segregation as other cities in the Northeast and Middle Atlantic states. Segregation indexes tend to decline on the junior high level, and reach their lowest point on the senior high level. The one exception is Hartford which in 1965 had the highest senior high segregation index (38) of all cities in the Northeast and Middle Atlantic states.

In other regions, school segregation indexes tended to be generally higher on all educational levels in the Middle and Far Western cities, and highest of all in Southern cities. Again, as was also characteristic of southern cities under 100,000 population, segregation indexes are high "across-the-board," i.e., on all educational levels (Column IV, Table 4.1.33). While these indexes in some cases undoubtedly represent a decline from peaks of 100 (total segregation), they are still so high that they indicate little more than an effort to utilize token integration as a means for achieving racial desegregation. For example, while only 14 percent of all senior high school pupils in Nashville, Tennessee in 1965 were Negro (Column III, Table 4.1.33), the segregation index nevertheless was 95.

Cities With a Population Greater Than 250,000

Data on racial enrollment and school segregation indexes in these larger cities (Tables 4.1.34 and 4.1.35) are given merely for the purpose of comparison since there are no central cities of this size in Connecticut. However, it seems safe to predict that many of these larger cities with their sprawling ghettoes will find it extremely difficult to achieve integrated schools without resorting to the massive transfer of pupils. And even this method may not provide an adequate solution because dwindling percentages of white pupils make meaningful racial integration virtually impossible within the confines of the central city. Though in a lesser population category, two of the Connecticut cities are rapidly approaching this type of situation. In 1967, Hartford with only 41 percent white pupils, and New Haven with only 44 percent white pupils in their elementary school systems, have both reached the point where an equal redistribution of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils among all schools would not result in any school emerging with a majority of white pupils.

Summary

During the 1950's the nonwhite population in the five core cities of Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, Stamford, and Waterbury increased, on the average, more than 100 percent During the same period, the white population actually decreased in all of the cities, with the exception of Stamford. This change laid the foundation for the rapid acceleration of Negro enrollment during the 1960's; a movement which the Connecticut cities shared with other medium-sized cities throughout the North and West.

The rapid increase of the Negro population (aggravated in Bridgeport and Hartford by substantial additions of Puerto Ricans) expanded the boundaries of de facto segregated neighborhoods which in turn created more de facto segregated elementary schools since they operated generally on the principle of neighborhood enrollment.

Racial isolation of minority pupils, measured in terms of their separation from white pupils while attending elementary schools, existed to some degree in all of the cities. If we consider Negro and Puerto Rican pupils in combination, as distinct from white pupils (other than Puerto Rican) we find that in 1967 only nine percent of all Negro and Puerto Rican pupils in Hartford were attending elementary schools having a majority (50 percent) of white pupils. In the other cities, the percentage was 11 in New Haven; 25 in Bridgeport; 36 in Waterbury; and 39 in Stamford. Measured in these terms, the trend between 1963 and 1967 was in the direction of increasing isolation of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils in the cities having the largest proportions of such pupils, i.e., Bridgeport, Hartford, and New Haven.

De facto segregation of Negro pupils in the elementary schools of the five cities was substantial, and changed very little between 1963 and 1967. As measured by the school segregation index in which 0 indicate no segregation, and 100 indicates maximum segregation, the Waterbury elementary system ranked highest with an index of 75; Hartford next with an index of 71; followed by New Haven, 65; Stamford, 65; and Bridgeport, 60 in 1967.

Desegregation of the elementary schools toward the goal of a perfect balance of Negro and white pupils in each school could be ahcieved by the transfer, or interchange of Negro and white pupils, between schools that had excessive percentages of Negro or white pupils. As measured by the replacement index, this interchange would have involved the transfer of 6,413 pupils in Hartford; 4,100 pupils in Bridgeport; 3,898 pupils in New Haven; 2,866 pupils in Waterbury; and 2,551 pupils in Stamford in 1967.

De facto segregation in the senior high schools as measured by the segregation index was very low in four of the five cities in 1967, ranging from five in Stamford, to eight in Waterbury, nine in Bridgeport, and 16 in New Haven. In three of these cities, Stamford, Waterbury, and Bridgeport, the indexes had declined between 1963 and 1967. Hartford had the highest senior high segregation index of all the cities: 36 in 1963, and 38 in 1967. The achievement of a perfect balance between Negro and white pupils in all Hartford high schools in 1967 would have involved a transfer of 1,062 white and Negro pupils (18 percent).

In comparison with similar sized cities in the Northern and Middle Atlantic states, elementary school segregation indexes in the Connecticut cities were generally as high as those located elsewhere. The exception was Norwalk with its comparatively low index of 23. On the senior high school level, the Connecticut segregation indexes were generally as low as those of other Northern and Middle Atlantic cities. The exception was Hartford, with its comparatively high index of 38 in 1967. In comparison with Southern cities, segregation indexes in the Connecticut cities are somewhat lower on the elementary school level, and markedly lower on the senior high school level.

APPENDIX A

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS IN BRIDGEPORT, HARTFORD, NEW HAVEN, WATERBURY, AND STAMFORD, 1963 - 1967

TABLE 4.1.9

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, BRIDGEPORT PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1963-1964

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN
ELEMENTARY				
Newfield	261	87.7	9.6	2.7
Jackson	264	64.0	12.5	23.5
Lincoln	712	63.1	33.3	3.7
Roosevelt (PM)	494	57.1	13.2	29.8
Longfellow	661	56.9	9.4	33.7
Johnson	808	53.6	41.1	5.3
Waltersville	1,287	49.5	9.0	41.5
Roosevelt (AM)	576	45.7	33.7	20.7
Whittier	372	44.1	39.8	16.1
McKinley	473	39.7	55.2	5.1
Wilbur Cross	765	39.6	55.9	4.4
Franklin	429	39.4	34.5	26.1
Washington	227	37.0	52.9	10.1
Wheeler	338	32.5	32.5	34.9
Jefferson	494	27.7	49.6	22.7
Columbus	647	23.8	55.8	20.4
Edison	393	17.6	80.9	1.5
Elias Howe	435	17.2	63.9	18.9
Read	412	16.0	80.3	3.6
Sheridan	610	15.6	84.3	0.2
Webster	397	13.1	84.6	2.3
Summerfield	322	13.0	80.4	6.5
Barnum	535	11.0	71.8	17.2
Garfield	488	9.8	80.5	9.6
Hall	328	8.5	90.9	0.6
Maplewood	929	7.6	90.3	2.0
Hallen	620	6.8	92.9	0.3
Bryant	336	5.1	94.0	0.9
Black Rock	402	5.0	93.0	2.0
Hooker	460	4.3	95.4	0.2
Madison	735	3.9	95.4	0.7
Shelton	482	3.1	96.7	0.2
Nathan Hale	268	0.4	99.6	-
Wilson	326	0.3	98.5	1.2
Beardsley	620	0.2	98.9	1.0
Dunigan	428	-	99.5	0.5
Winthrop	518	-	100.0	-
Total	18,852	26.0	62.9	11.1
HIGH SCHOOLS				
Harding	2,006	16.3	79.0	4.7
Central	2,227	12.7	83.5	3.9
Bassick	1,333	8.8	85.5	5.7
Maplewood Gr. 9	176	8.5	88.6	2.8
Total	5,742	12.9	82.5	4.6
GRAND TOTAL	24,594	22.9	67.5	9.6

TABLE 4.1.10

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, BRIDGEPORT PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1964-1965

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	OTHER*
ELEMENTARY					
Newfield	261	88.5	10.7	0.8	-
Lincoln	677	69.7	26.0	4.3	-
Jackson	255	66.3	11.8	21.9	-
Longfellow	673	61.5	6.2	32.2	-
Johnson	847	59.4	32.2	8.4	-
Waltersville	1,244	52.8	5.5	41.6	-
Roosevelt	970	52.3	23.7	23.2	(8)
Whittier	363	47.4	35.8	16.8	-
Wilbur Cross	860	47.2	45.8	7.0	-
McKinley	487	40.5	51.3	8.2	(2)
Wheeler	260	38.1	28.5	33.1	(1)
Franklin	432	38.0	33.3	28.7	-
Washington	268	35.4	52.6	11.2	(2)
Jefferson	488	35.2	44.9	18.9	(5)
Columbus	627	27.9	49.3	22.0	(5)
Elias Howe	503	20.3	61.6	16.7	(7)
Read	398	19.1	76.9	3.8	(1)
Edison	388	19.1	79.9	1.0	-
Webster	343	16.9	74.6	7.3	(4)
Sheridan	584	16.1	83.0	0.9	-
Summerfield	336	14.9	76.2	8.6	(1)
Barnum	540	10.6	70.6	17.4	(8)
Garfield	503	10.5	73.4	15.7	(2)
Hall	287	10.1	88.9	0.3	(2)
Maplewood	843	8.5	88.3	2.0	(10)
Hallen	635	7.6	92.4	-	-
Black Rock	392	6.9	91.1	2.0	-
Bryant	340	5.0	93.5	1.8	(1)
Madison	726	4.4	94.6	1.0	-
Shelton	421	4.3	94.5	0.5	(3)
Hooker	462	3.5	96.5	-	-
Nathan Hale	266	1.5	98.5	-	-
Wilson	335	0.6	98.2	0.6	(1)
Beardsley	629	0.3	98.9	0.8	-
Winthrop	532	0.2	99.8	-	-
Dunigan	440	-	99.5	0.5	-
TOTAL	18,620	28.3	59.9	11.5	(63)
HIGH SCHOOL (Data not available)					

---

*Figures in parentheses denote number.

TABLE 4.1.11

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, BRIDGEPORT PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1965-1966

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	OTHER
ELEMENTARY					
Newfield	266	87.2	10.5	2.3	-
Lincoln*	616	70.3	24.4	5.2	(1)
Jackson	232	69.4	8.2	22.4	-
Johnson	831	66.0	23.9	10.0	-
Longfellow	597	63.5	4.5	32.0	-
Waltersville	1,246	52.5	5.0	42.5	-
Wilbur Cross*	881	51.9	41.2	6.5	(4)
Roosevelt	1,061	50.4	23.6	25.8	(2)
Whittier	338	45.6	34.6	19.8	-
McKinley*	490	44.3	43.7	12.0	-
Jefferson	376	41.8	28.2	30.1	-
Wheeler	254	37.0	37.8	25.2	-
Franklin	434	36.6	24.7	38.7	-
Hall*	374	32.9	66.8	0.3	-
Columbus	887	28.5	55.0	16.0	(4)
Edison	424	28.1	66.5	5.4	-
Read*	421	25.9	71.3	2.9	-
Elias Howe*	519	24.5	52.6	22.0	-
Sheridan*	510	19.8	79.2	1.0	-
Summerfield	329	18.8	67.5	13.7	-
Webster	284	14.4	81.0	3.5	(3)
Black Rock*	423	13.9	83.5	2.6	-
Garfield*	500	13.8	67.8	18.4	-
Barnum	488	12.1	71.3	16.2	(2)
Hallen*	635	9.0	90.7	0.3	-
Maplewood*	835	7.9	88.9	3.1	(1)
Shelton	412	6.3	91.7	1.2	(3)
Madison*	438	4.3	94.5	1.0	(3)
Bryant	371	3.8	94.0	2.4	-
Dunigan	192	3.6	93.8	2.6	-
Hooker	430	2.1	97.7	-	-
Nathan Hale	281	1.4	99.0	-	-
Beardsley	616	1.1	98.0	1.0	-
Blackham	643	1.1	98.9	-	-
Winthrop	576	0.2	99.5	0.3	-
Wilson	260	-	98.0	1.9	-
Total	18,470	30.0	57.5	12.4	(29)
HIGH SCHOOLS					
Harding**	1,729	22.9	69.6	7.5	-
Central**	2,678	19.0	76.3	4.7	-
Bassick**	1,184	18.0	73.8	8.2	-
Total	5,591	20.0	73.7	6.3	-
GRAND TOTAL	24,090	27.6	61.3	11.0	-

*Tests and questionnaires administered to 6th grade pupils.
**Tests and questionnaires administered to sample of 12th grade pupils.

TABLE 4.1.12

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, BRIDGEPORT PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1966-1967

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	OTHER
ELEMENTARY					
Newfield	268	90.7	9.0	0.4	-
Johnson	883	72.9	17.2	9.9	-
Lincoln	622	72.2	21.1	6.6	(1)
Jackson	237	66.7	6.8	26.6	-
Longfellow	597	66.7	3.0	30.0	(2)
Wilbur Cross	891	60.7	31.2	7.4	(6)
Waltersville	1,043	53.7	4.3	42.0	-
McKinley	502	52.2	33.7	14.1	-
Whittier	321	48.6	30.8	20.6	-
Roosevelt	1,080	45.5	24.2	29.6	(8)
Franklin	450	39.3	20.4	40.2	-
Hall	351	38.5	61.5	-	-
Wheeler	215	31.6	22.8	45.6	-
Jefferson	370	30.5	35.4	34.1	-
Edison	384	29.2	66.1	4.7	-
Elias Howe	554	28.7	43.7	26.9	(4)
Read	389	25.4	68.1	6.4	-
Columbus	961	25.3	57.0	17.2	(5)
Sheridan	480	22.5	76.9	0.6	-
Garfield	502	17.3	63.5	19.1	-
Black Rock	396	16.7	80.8	2.5	-
Maplewood	888	15.1	77.3	6.3	(12)
Dunigan	213	15.0	81.7	3.3	-
Webster	245	14.3	78.4	6.5	(2)
Summerfield	329	13.7	69.3	17.0	-
Barnum	493	13.2	67.3	17.6	(9)
Madison	447	13.0	84.3	2.2	(2)
Hallen	658	11.2	87.7	1.1	-
Shelton	462	10.0	84.0	5.2	(4)
Hooker	416	2.9	97.1	-	-
Bryant	398	2.5	91.2	5.3	(4)
Nathan Hale	283	1.8	98.2	-	-
Blackham	713	1.1	98.9	-	-
Beardsley	657	0.9	97.1	1.5	(3)
Wilson	269	0.7	98.1	1.1	-
Winthrop	527	0.4	99.4	0.2	-
Total	18,494	31.4	54.8	13.5	(62)
HIGH SCHOOLS					
Harding	1,586	27.8	61.9*	10.3	-
Bassick	1,072	21.5	68.0*	10.5	-
Central	2,733	20.2	74.1*	5.7	-
Total	5,391	22.7	69.3	8.0	-
GRAND TOTAL	23,885	29.4	58.0	12.3	(62)

*Includes "other" races.

TABLE 4.1.13

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, BRIDGEPORT PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1967-1968

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	OTHER
ELEMENTARY					
Newfield	263	91.3	7.6	1.1	-
Johnson	697	79.2	11.9	8.9	-
Lincoln	666	71.6	19.5	8.9	-
Wilbur Cross	1,095	71.1	21.0	7.9	-
Longfellow	658	65.3	3.8	30.8	-
Whittier	297	62.0	14.8	23.2	-
McKinley	544	55.9	27.9	16.0	(1)
Waltersville	1,051	53.9	2.6	43.4	(1)
Roosevelt	1,138	45.7	21.3	32.9	(2)
Franklin	491	37.7	15.1	47.2	-
Wheeler	207	33.8	22.2	44.0	-
Hall	342	33.3	65.5	1.2	-
Jefferson	402	30.3	28.6	40.5	(2)
Edison	377	27.9	68.7	3.4	-
Elias Howe	591	27.6	39.6	32.0	(5)
Columbus	983	25.1	57.2	16.9	(8)
Read	371	24.5	70.9	4.6	-
Summerfield	386	22.8	50.3	26.9	-
Sheridan	483	22.4	77.0	0.6	-
Black Rock	418	20.1	76.3	3.6	-
Garfield	533	19.5	52.0	28.5	-
Dunigan	200	16.0	80.0	4.0	-
Shelton	444	15.5	80.0	3.4	(5)
Maplewood	857	14.8	77.0	7.0	(10)
Hallen	675	13.3	85.6	1.0	-
Barnum	466	12.7	65.2	20.0	(10)
Webster	261	11.5	75.5	12.6	(1)
Madison	455	8.4	90.3	1.3	-
Blackham	759	4.0	95.5	0.5	-
Bryant	399	2.8	94.0	2.8	(2)
Beardsley	666	2.1	96.2	1.7	-
Hooker	402	2.0	97.5	0.5	-
Nathan Hale	274	1.5	98.5	-	-
Winthrop	533	0.8	99.2	-	-
Wilson	231	-	100.0	-	-
Total	18,615	32.5	52.2	15.0	(47)
HIGH SCHOOLS					
Harding	1,617	28.9	60.4	10.8	-
Bassick	1,027	23.8	63.7	12.6	-
Central	2,700	21.4	73.3	5.3	-
Total	5,344	24.1	67.5	8.3	-
GRAND TOTAL	23,959	30.6	55.6	13.5	(47)

TABLE 4.1.14

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, HARTFORD PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1963-1964

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN
ELEMENTARY				
Brackett-Northeast	1,764	97.0	3.0	-
Arsenal	1,500	93.3	6.7	-
Barbour	512	87.3	12.7	-
Wish	918	83.8	16.2	-
Vine	1,025	80.0	20.0	-
Barnard-Brown	1,150	60.0	10.0	30.0
Northwest-Jones	1,377	50.0	50.0	-
Hooker	967	32.2	67.8	-
Twain	593	23.6	76.4	-
Kinsella	800	21.2	53.8	25.0
Moylan-McDonough	1,073	17.0	83.0	-
West Middle	350	8.9	91.1	-
New Park Avenue	665	8.6	83.9	7.5
Rawson	653	7.5	92.5	-
Batchelder	775	4.4	95.6	-
Naylor	637	2.4	97.6	-
Dwight	340	1.5	98.5	-
Webster	646	1.2	98.8	-
Burr	630	0.3	99.7	-
Burns	850	0.2	99.8	-
Fox	831	0.1	99.9	
Kennelly	843	-	100.0	-
Total	18,899	39.9	57.0	3.1
HIGH SCHOOLS				
Weaver	1,611	42.6	57.4	-
HPHS	2,800	30.0	70.0	-
Bulkeley	1,650	0.6	99.4	-
Total	6,061	25.3	74.7	-
GRAND TOTAL	24,960	36.3	61.3	2.4

TABLE 4.1.15

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, HARTFORD PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1964-1965

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	OTHER
ELEMENTARY					
Clark	392	95.9	2.6	1.5	-
Barbour	488	90.0	5.9	4.1	-
Brackett-Northeast	1,768	88.6	4.8	6.7	-
Wish	1,033	88.5	4.8	6.7	-
Arsenal	1,474	86.1	0.6	13.3	-
Vine	1,011	85.2	9.1	5.7	-
Northwest-Jones	1,554	61.3	36.3	2.4	-
Barnard-Brown	1,178	47.2	3.7	49.1	-
Hooker	982	31.3	59.5	9.3	-
Twain	537	27.2	72.6	0.9	-
West Middle	419	22.9	72.1	4.5	(2)
Moylan-McDonough	1,044	17.5	82.3	0.2	-
Rawson	655	15.7	84.0	0.3	-
Kinsella	771	13.9	53.2	32.9	-
New Park Avenue	673	8.0	87.8	4.2	-
Dwight	395	5.3	92.7	2.0	-
Batchelder	787	4.7	94.0	1.3	-
Naylor	609	2.3	97.7	-	-
Webster	657	1.5	97.0	-	(10)
Fox	785	0.4	97.3	2.3	-
Burr	626	0.3	98.7	1.0	-
Burns	892	-	95.2	4.5	(3)
Kennelly	835	-	100.0	-	
Child Servs. Conn.	10	10.0	90.0	-	-
Total	19,575	41.0	51.0	8.0	(15)
HIGH SCHOOLS					
Weaver	1,702	51.4	47.7	0.9	-
HPHS	2,895	29.9	64.3	5.7	(3)
Bulkeley	1,541	0.8	99.0	0.2	-
Total	6,138	28.5	68.4	3.0	(3)
GRAND TOTAL	25,713	38.0	55.1	6.8	(18)

TABLE 4.1.16

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, HARTFORD PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1965-1966

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	OTHER
ELEMENTARY					
Clark*	365	94.8	0.8	4.4	-
Barbour*	502	91.8	3.8	4.4	-
Brackett-Northeast*	1,709	88.9	4.5	6.6	-
Wish*	982	88.4	3.6	8.0	-
Vine	900	86.0	4.9	9.1	-
Northwest-Jones*	1,427	84.0	12.1	3.9	-
Arsenal	1,416	84.0	0.7	15.3	-
Fisher*	763	44.8	53.6	1.6	-
Rawson	601	44.4	55.1	0.5	-
Barnard-Brown	1,160	40.3	2.0	57.7	-
West Middle	576	35.9	55.6	8.2	(2)
Twain*	619	35.5	64.8	0.2	-
Hooker	967	33.5	52.4	13.5	(5)
Moylan-McDonough*	1,070	17.9	80.7	1.0	(3)
New Park Avenue*	692	10.4	86.6	3.0	-
Kinsella*	771	9.7	55.0	35.3	-
Dwight	394	7.1	88.8	4.1	-
Batchelder*	767	4.4	93.7	1.8	-
Naylor	633	2.5	97.5	-	-
Burr	606	0.8	98.0	1.2	-
Webster	634	0.6	99.2	0.2	-
Fox	863	0.2	97.8	2.0	-
Burns	782	-	94.5	5.5	-
Kennelly	775	-	100.0	-	-
Child Servs. Conn.	10	10.0	90.0	-	-
Total	19,984	43.1	47.6	9.2	(10)
HIGH SCHOOLS					
Weaver**	1,491	54.5	44.5	0.9	-
HPHS Annex**	675	39.4	56.1	4.4	-
HPHS**	2,425	34.9	55.0	10.1	-
Bulkeley**	1,583	1.8	97.4	0.8	-
Total	6,174	31.6	63.5	4.9	-
GRAND TOTAL	26,158	40.4	51.3	8.2	(10)

*Tests and questionnaires administered to 6th grade pupils.

**Tests and questionnaires administered to sample of 12th grade pupils.

TABLE 4.1.17

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, HARTFORD PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1966-1967

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	OTHER
ELEMENTARY					
Clark	384	95.8	0.3	3.9	-
Barbour	516	90.1	4.3	5.6	-
Brackett-Northeast	1,604	89.3	3.4	7.2	-
Wish	994	89.2	2.7	8.0	-
Northwest-Jones	1,527	89.1	7.3	3.6	-
Vine	915	84.5	2.2	12.9	(4)
Arsenal	1,318	78.5	0.6	20.9	-
Rawson	547	51.6	45.7	2.7	-
Fisher	821	50.2	46.8	1.9	(9)
Twain	618	44.7	55.0	0.3	-
West Middle	558	41.8	44.4	11.3	(14)
Barnard-Brown	1,158	37.4	1.5	61.1	-
Hooker	910	34.5	47.0	17.9	(4)
Moylan-McDonough	1,009	19.5	78.5	1.5	(5)
New Park Avenue	727	12.0	84.3	3.7	-
Dwight	383	8.6	87.5	3.9	-
Kinsella	805	7.0	51.1	41.2	(6)
Batchelder	759	4.5	93.5	1.7	(2)
Naylor	674	4.2	95.1	0.1	(4)
Burr	612	2.0	96.4	1.3	(2)
Fox	847	1.3	93.7	5.0	-
Webster	639	0.9	98.3	-	(5)
Kennelly	783	0.5	99.5	-	-
Burns	809	0.4	91.7	7.8	(1)
Child Servs. of Conn.	10	10.0	90.0	-	-
Inten. Inst. Clinics**	187	**	**	**	-
Bussed Students**	255	**	**	**	-
Total	20,369	44.7	44.1	10.9	(56)
HIGH SCHOOLS					
Weaver	1,509	59.8	39.2	0.9	(1)
HPHS Annex	597	51.9	38.9	9.2	-
HPHS	2,518	36.0	55.1	8.1	(22)
Bulkeley	1,491	1.7	96.9	1.3	(1)
Total	6,115	35.1	59.8	4.8	(24)
GRAND TOTAL	26,484	42.5	47.7	9.5	(80)

**These are not included in the individual school counts.

TABLE 4.1.18

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, HARTFORD PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1967-1968

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	OTHER
ELEMENTARY					
Clark	371	96.0	0.3	3.8	-
Barbour	504	90.5	3.0	6.5	-
Northwest-Jones	1,639	90.3	5.6	3.4	(12)
Wish	1,036	88.0	2.1	9.8	-
Brackett-Northeast	1,655	87.4	3.4	9.2	-
Vine	1,032	84.1	2.3	13.4	(2)
Arsenal	1,361	76.3	0.4	23.2	(1)
Rawson	532	59.2	38.3	2.4	-
Fisher	949	58.1	40.4	1.6	-
Twain	618	51.0	48.4	0.6	-
West Middle	604	43.2	38.6	16.1	(13)
Hooker	968	36.7	41.7	21.0	(6)
Barnard-Brown	1,282	33.6	1.2	65.2	-
Moylan-McDonough	1,033	21.0	75.2	2.5	(13)
Kinsella	749	9.6	41.3	49.1	-
New Park Avenue	754	9.5	87.0	2.9	(4)
Dwight	399	9.0	87.5	3.3	(1)
Batchelder	762	4.9	91.9	3.3	-
Naylor	647	4.5	94.9	0.3	(2)
Webster	662	2.3	97.0	-	(5)
Fox	874	1.8	85.1	12.2	(7)
Burr	565	1.4	97.2	1.1	(2)
Burns	836	0.4	87.8	11.6	(2)
Kennelly	784	0.3	99.6	0.1	-
Child. Serv. Conn.	11	9.1	90.9	-	-
Inten. Inst. Clinics**	144	74.3	12.5	13.2	-
Bussed Students**(A)	318	88.4	2.2	9.4	-
Total	21,089	45.9	41.0	12.8	(70)
HIGH SCHOOLS					
Weaver	1,497	68.4	30.7	0.9	-
HPHS Annex	597	53.1	36.0	10.6	(2)
HPHS	2,632	37.5	53.7	7.9	(23)
Bulkeley	1,500	1.7	97.3	0.9	(1)
Total	6,226	37.8	57.0	4.8	(26)
GRAND TOTAL	27,315	44.1	44.6	11.0	(96)

**These are not included in the individual school counts.

(A)Includes 58 students bussed to suburban parochial schools.

TABLE 4.1.19

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, NEW HAVEN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1963-1964

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	OTHER
ELEMENTARY					
Baldwin	292	94.2	4.8	1.0	-
Winchester	990	93.0	4.0	2.9	-
Lincoln	597	90.5	8.5	1.0	-
Ivy Street	688	88.1	11.0	0.9	-
Dwight	268	79.5	16.8	2.6	(3)
Scranton	573	62.7	32.8	3.3	(7)
Prince Street	510	57.5	28.6	13.9	-
Brennan	570	56.6	41.6	1.2	(3)
West Hills	453	52.8	45.9	0.4	(4)
Welch	483	50.9	35.0	13.7	(2)
Roger Sherman	418	48.8	49.5	-	(7)
Horace Day	435	46.2	50.1	3.7	-
Conte	712	42.3	43.4	13.9	(3)
Woolsey	513	25.0	70.0	5.1	-
Lloyd Street	72	23.6	70.8	5.5	-
Truman	507	21.7	74.2	3.6	(3)
Kimberly Avenue	316	18.4	78.2	2.5	(3)
Edward Street	272	15.4	82.0	2.6	-
Clinton Avenue	437	12.8	85.4	1.8	-
Cheever	271	11.4	83.4	5.2	-
Lovell	222	11.3	86.0	2.3	(1)
Strong	308	10.7	89.0	0.3	-
Betsy Ross	569	8.1	91.4	0.2	(2)
Barnard	290	6.6	91.0	-	(7)
Hooker	395	1.5	97.0	-	(6)
Beecher	347	1.4	98.6	-	-
Davis	537	0.7	98.9	-	(2)
Edgewood	326	0.6	98.5	-	(3)
Woodward	355	0.6	99.4	-	-
Nathan Hale	472	-	99.6	0.4	-
Jepson	231	-	100.0	-	-
Total	13,429	39.5	56.9	3.2	(56)
JUNIOR HIGH					
Bassett	610	90.2	9.0	0.8	-
Troup	933	52.5	44.9	2.0	(5)
Sheridan	889	16.3	83.4	0.2	(1)
Fair Haven	1,108	10.2	87.5	2.3	(1)
Total	3,540	36.7	61.7	1.4	(7)
SENIOR HIGH					
Wilbur Cross	1,864	21.2	78.2	0.5	(3)
Hillhouse	2,084	19.9	79.5	0.3	(6)
Total	3,948	20.5	78.9	0.4	(9)
GRAND TOTAL	20,917	35.4	61.9	2.4	(72)

TABLE 4.1.20

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, NEW HAVEN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1964-1965

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	OTHER
ELEMENTARY					
Baldwin	284	96.8	1.1	2.1	-
Ivy Street	601	92.3	6.7	1.0	-
Lincoln	445	90.8	7.6	1.6	-
Winchester	871	90.6	5.6	3.6	(2)
Dwight	260	78.5	17.7	3.1	(2)
Scranton	624	69.2	25.2	3.2	(15)
Brennan	549	67.4	31.3	1.3	-
West Hills	427	62.1	36.8	-	(5)
Prince Street	435	61.6	21.4	14.9	(9)
Welch	440	56.8	27.7	13.9	(7)
Horace Day	426	49.8	45.1	4.0	(5)
Roger Sherman	344	47.1	51.5	0.3	(4)
Conte	771	46.7	37.4	15.2	(6)
Edwards	275	36.0	60.7	2.9	(1)
Truman	402	35.6	59.0	3.5	(8)
Woolsey	494	27.7	66.6	4.9	(4)
Clinton Avenue	504	24.2	72.0	3.2	(3)
Kimberly Avenue	309	22.7	74.4	2.3	(2)
Lovell	259	20.1	77.6	2.3	-
Hooker	398	19.6	79.1	0.3	(4)
Lloyd Street	93	15.1	73.1	11.8	-
Betsy Ross	534	14.2	85.2	0.2	(2)
Strong	308	12.3	86.7	0.6	(1)
Edgewood	349	10.3	88.5	-	(4)
Woodward	342	10.2	89.8	-	-
Cheever	250	9.2	84.0	6.8	-
Barnard	274	5.5	92.0	-	(7)
Davis	539	4.3	95.0	0.4	(2)
Beecher	326	2.5	97.5	-	-
Nathan Hale	479	-	99.6	0.4	-
Jepson	239	-	100.0	-	-
Total	12,851	42.9	52.8	3.6	(93)
JUNIOR HIGH					
Bassett	628	58.9	40.6	0.5	-
Troup	1,104	58.2	39.1	2.2	(5)
Sheridan	789	31.8	67.7	0.4	(1)
Fair Haven	1,272	18.7	77.6	3.2	(6)
Total	3,793	39.6	58.2	1.9	(12)
SENIOR HIGH					
Hillhouse	2,055	27.1	71.6	0.6	(13)
Wilbur Cross	1.776	25.5	73.4	0.8	(5)
Total	3,831	26.4	72.4	0.7	(18)
GRAND TOTAL	20,475	39.2	57.5	2.7	(123)

TABLE 4.1.21

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, NEW HAVEN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1965-1966

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	OTHER
ELEMENTARY					
Baldwin	275	97.1	1.5	1.5	-
Helene Grant	284	93.6	4.6	1.8	-
Ivy Street*	578	92.7	6.2	1.0	-
Lincoln	487	92.4	5.7	1.6	(1)
Winchester*	720	90.5	3.9	5.0	(4)
Brennan*	555	77.7	20.7	1.6	-
West Hills*	388	70.9	28.4	0.5	(1)
Scranton	539	70.7	23.7	5.0	(3)
Dwight	357	70.6	23.5	3.6	(8)
Welch	457	65.7	20.1	14.0	(1)
Prince Street*	448	63.2	21.2	14.5	(5)
Horace Day*	430	54.9	38.4	6.5	(1)
Roger Sherman*	303	47.5	52.1	-	(1)
Truman	492	46.5	51.4	2.0	-
Quinnipiac	301	46.5	53.5	-	-
Conte	707	44.6	35.6	19.4	(3)
Edwards	207	36.7	59.9	2.9	(1)
Kimberly Avenue	266	33.8	63.5	1.5	(3)
Woolsey*	465	29.2	66.2	4.5	-
Clinton Avenue*	450	21.8	70.4	7.1	(3)
Lloyd Street	94	21.3	66.0	12.8	-
Hooker	320	20.3	79.7	-	-
Lovell	231	18.2	81.0	0.9	-
Strong*	323	12.4	86.1	1.5	-
Betsy Ross	464	10.1	89.0	-	(4)
Woodward	362	8.6	91.4	-	-
Beecher*	325	7.7	92.3	-	-
Cheever*	271	7.4	84.5	7.0	(3)
Barnard	244	6.1	93.4	-	(1)
Davis	520	5.2	94.0	-	(4)
Edgewood	333	4.2	94.9	-	(3)
Nathan Hale	509	-	99.6	0.4	-
Jepson	235	-	100.0	-	-
Total	12,940	45.8	50.0	4.0	(50)
JUNIOR HIGH					
Bassett	563	59.5	40.0	0.5	-
Troup	1,065	59.4	36.8	3.2	(6)
Sheridan	848	42.8	56.5	0.4	(3)
Fair Haven	1,269	19.1	77.0	3.5	(6)
Total	3,745	42.0	55.4	2.2	(15)
SENIOR HIGH					
Hillhouse**	1,931	31.8	67.0	0.7	(9)
Wilbur Cross**	1,716	30.6	68.2	1.0	(3)
Total	3,647	31.2	67.6	0.9	(12)
GRAND TOTAL	20,332	42.4	54.1	3.1	(77)

---

*Tests and questionnaires administered to 6th grade pupils.

**Tests and questionnaires administered to sample of 12th grade pupils.

TABLE 4.1.22

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, NEW HAVEN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1966-1967

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	OTHER
ELEMENTARY					
Baldwin	261	95.4	2.3	2.3	-
Bassett-Lincoln	586	95.1	4.4	0.5	-
Ivy Street	518	94.6	3.7	1.1	(3)
Winchester	719	92.1	2.2	5.7	-
Helene Grant	275	90.2	6.9	2.9	-
Brennan	582	86.9	11.7	1.4	-
Scranton	542	79.0	17.1	3.9	-
West Hills	372	77.7	21.2	-	(4)
Welch	466	73.2	13.1	12.6	(5)
Dwight	318	71.1	20.7	6.3	(6)
Prince Street	510	58.0	18.2	22.0	(9)
Quinnipiac	316	56.0	40.8	2.5	(2)
Horace Day	445	55.3	35.0	9.7	-
Roger Sherman	282	53.5	46.5	-	-
Truman	518	48.8	44.8	5.0	(7)
Conte	707	48.5	33.8	17.4	(2)
Lloyd Street	114	43.9	49.1	7.0	-
Kimberly Avenue	255	37.6	59.6	2.0	(2)
Woolsey	405	35.3	58.8	5.9	-
Edwards	174	32.8	66.1	1.1	-
Clinton Avenue	451	23.5	66.9	8.9	(3)
Hooker	315	16.2	80.0	-	(12)
Lovell	231	15.6	76.2	8.2	-
Betsy Ross	478	13.6	85.2	0.4	(4)
Strong	299	12.7	83.6	3.7	-
Woodward	390	11.3	88.7	-	-
Beecher	350	8.9	91.1	-	-
Barnard	231	8.7	90.9	-	(1)
Davis	542	7.2	91.9	0.2	(4)
Cheever	236	5.9	79.7	10.6	(9)
Edgewood	341	5.3	93.5	-	(4)
Nathan Hale	560	-	99.6	0.4	-
Jepson	254	-	100.0	-	-
Total	13,043	48.1	46.5	4.8	(77)
MIDDLE					
Troup	884	67.9	27.3	4.7	(1)
Sheridan	847	50.6	49.0	0.4	-
Fair Haven**	856	21.0	74.4	4.0	(5)
Total	2,587	46.7	50.0	3.1	(6)
SENIOR HIGH					
Hillhouse	1,872	43.4	55.0	1.0	(11)
Hill High***	1,185	38.0	58.7	2.5	(10)
Wilbur Cross	2,037	26.9	71.7	1.3	(2)
Total	5,094	35.6	62.5	1.5	(23)
GRAND TOTAL	20,724	44.8	50.9	3.8	(106)

** Includes 6th grade.

*** No 12th grade

TABLE 4.1.23

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, NEW HAVEN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1967-1968

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	OTHER
ELEMENTARY					
Baldwin	273	96.4	0.7	2.9	-
Bassett	537	95.9	2.2	1.9	-
Ivy Street	445	95.3	3.4	1.3	-
Newhallville	182	94.0	6.0	-	-
Winchester	725	93.2	1.0	5.8	-
Helene Grant	287	90.6	4.9	4.2	(1)
Brennan	532	89.8	8.5	1.7	-
West Hills	376	84.3	15.7	-	-
Scranton	482	82.0	11.8	6.2	-
Dwight	373	72.1	20.4	4.3	(12)
Welch	343	70.3	9.9	18.6	(4)
Welch Annex	234	70.1	13.7	14.5	(4)
Prince Street	437	62.0	17.6	18.6	(8)
Horace Day	481	59.5	30.1	10.4	-
Roger Sherman	281	59.4	40.2	-	(1)
Quinnipiac	282	53.6	45.0	1.4	-
Truman	528	52.4	41.0	6.6	-
Conte	740	51.8	30.2	17.7	(2)
Woolsey	485	36.5	48.5	13.8	(6)
Kimberly Avenue	273	32.2	65.2	2.2	(1)
Clinton Avenue	497	31.0	61.6	7.0	(2)
Edwards	166	24.1	71.7	3.6	(1)
Lovell	226	17.2	68.6	14.2	-
Betsy Ross	508	15.7	82.7	1.4	(1)
Hooker	278	15.5	80.9	-	(10)
Barnard	235	14.5	81.7	-	(9)
Woodward	406	13.8	85.7	-	(2)
Davis	537	12.3	87.1	0.4	(1)
Strong	251	10.7	84.1	4.8	(1)
Beecher	300	10.3	89.7	-	-
Cheever	205	4.9	76.6	15.1	(7)
Edgewood	317	4.7	94.3	-	(3)
Nathan Hale	559	-	99.5	0.5	-
Jepson	269	-	99.6	0.4	-
Total	13,050	50.3	43.5	5.6	(76)
MIDDLE SCHOOLS					
Troup	886	71.9	20.0	6.4	(15)
Sheridan	759	56.0	43.3	0.7	-
Sheridan Annex	105	53.4	44.8	0.9	(1)
Fair Haven	983	21.9	74.4	3.6	(1)
Total	2,733	48.8	47.0	3.6	(17)
SENIOR HIGH					
Hillhouse	1,724	48.0	50.7	0.8	(8)
Richard C. Lee	1,519	39.4	55.5	4.3	(13)
Wilbur Cross	2,073	29.3	69.4	1.1	(4)
Total	5,316	38.2	59.4	1.9	(25)
GRAND TOTAL	21,099	47.1	47.9	4.4	(118)

TABLE 4.1.24

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, STAMFORD PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1963-1964
(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	OTHER
ELEMENTARY					
Rice	616	64.9	18.3	15.9	(5)
Ryle	389	52.2	45.2	2.1	(2)
Stevens	1,035	47.9	45.7	5.4	(10)
Hart	397	23.7	74.8	1.5	-
Westover	701	17.1	82.3	0.6	-
Rogers	745	15.8	81.6	2.1	(3)
Franklin	360	11.1	88.1	-	(3)
Stark-Glenbrook	857	3.9	95.4	0.1	(5)
Belltown	344	2.6	97.1	-	(1)
Willard-Hoyt	888	0.7	98.9	-	(4)
Riverbank	845	0.5	99.5	-	-
Newfield	810	0.2	99.3	0.1	(3)
Springdale	1,084	0.2	99.8	-	-
Murphy	572	0.2	99.8	-	-
Roxbury	940	-	98.6	0.1	(12)
Home Inst.	11	-	100.0	-	-
Total	10,594	14.4	83.3	1.8	(48)
JUNIOR HIGH					
Cloonan	675	45.2	45.6	7.1	(14)
Burdick	835	16.0	81.9	1.8	(2)
Rogers	453	3.5	94.9	0.7	(4)
Dolan	803	0.6	99.1	-	(2)
Turn of River	857	0.6	99.1	-	(3)
Home Inst.	6	16.6	83.3	-	-
Total	3,629	12.8	84.7	1.8	(25)
SENIOR HIGH					
Stamford High	1,637	12.2	87.0	0.7	(1)
Rippowam	1,498	6.4	93.2	0.3	(1)
Home Inst.	3	-	100.0	-	-
Total	3,138	9.4	89.9	0.5	(2)
GRAND TOTAL	17,361	13.2	84.8	1.6	(75)

TABLE 4.1.25

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, STAMFORD PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1964-1965

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	OTHER
ELEMENTARY					
Rice	580	72.2	10.2	17.1	(3)
Ryle	402	55.0	40.8	3.7	(2)
Stevens	984	50.4	41.2	7.9	(5)
Hart	445	30.3	64.0	4.9	(3)
Westover	739	18.5	79.8	1.1	(4)
Rogers	805	14.5	82.9	2.2	(3)
Franklin	374	14.4	84.8	0.3	(2)
Murphy	665	8.1	90.7	1.2	-
Stark	755	4.5	95.0	0.1	(3)
Glenbrook	143	2.8	97.2	-	-
Belltown	368	1.9	97.6	-	(2)
Hoyt	223	0.9	98.6	-	(1)
Riverbank	907	0.3	99.7	-	-
Springdale	1,017	0.3	99.7	-	-
Willard	790	0.1	99.1	0.1	(5)
Roxbury	1,076	0.1	99.3	0.1	(6)
Newfield	771	0.1	99.9	-	-
Home Inst.	7	-	100.0	-	-
Total	11,051	15.3	82.1	2.3	(39)
JUNIOR HIGH					
Cloonan	218	55.5	37.6	6.4	(1)
Stamford & Rippowam high	238	42.4	49.2	6.7	(4)
Burdick	910	20.5	76.2	3.2	(1)
Rogers	531	6.8	91.3	0.9	(5)
Turn of River	1,066	3.2	95.8	0.7	(4)
Dolan	894	3.0	96.1	0.2	(6)
Home Inst.	8	12.5	87.5	-	-
Total	3,865	13.1	84.5	1.9	(21)
SENIOR HIGH					
Stamford	1,609	12.1	86.1	1.5	(4)
Rippowam	1,628	9.0	90.3	0.6	(3)
Home Inst.	4	-	100.0	-	-
Total	3,241	10.5	88.2	1.0	(7)
GRAND TOTAL	18,157	14.0	83.7	2.0	(67)

TABLE 4.1.26

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, STAMFORD PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1965-1966

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	OTHER
ELEMENTARY					
Rice*	687	78.7	6.8	13.8	(4)
Ryle*	399	57.9	35.8	5.8	(2)
Stevens	1,013	54.6	34.3	10.5	(7)
Hart*	464	37.1	57.5	5.0	(2)
Westover*	740	19.9	77.7	2.2	(2)
Rogers	836	16.7	80.1	2.5	(5)
Franklin	373	16.1	81.8	0.3	(7)
Stark*	725	5.1	94.5	0.4	-
Glenbrook	192	3.1	96.9	-	-
Belltown	356	2.0	97.8	-	(1)
Murphy	642	1.2	98.8	-	-
Newfield	770	0.8	99.2	-	-
Northeast	983	0.4	99.3	-	(3)
Roxbury	972	0.3	99.5	-	(2)
Springdale	953	0.2	99.8	-	-
Riverbank	696	0.1	99.6	0.1	(1)
Willard	543	-	98.3	0.2	(8)
Home Inst.	11	-	90.9	9.1	-
Total	11,355	16.9	80.2	2.6	(44)
JUNIOR HIGH					
Cloonan	199	62.3	32.7	6.0	-
9th Gr. in H.S.	215	47.9	43.2	17.9	(2)
Burdick	920	25.9	70.8	3.4	-
Rogers	579	8.6	90.0	0.5	(5)
Dolan	958	3.8	95.6	0.3	(3)
Turn of River	1,119	0.4	99.4	-	(2)
Home Inst.	6	16.7	83.3	-	-
Total	3,996	13.9	84.2	1.6	(12)
SENIOR HIGH					
Rippowam**	1,669	12.6	86.4	0.6	(6)
Stamford**	1,630	10.4	87.7	1.4	(7)
Home Inst.	6	33.0	67.0	-	-
Total	3,305	11.6	87.0	1.0	(13)
GRAND TOTAL	18,656	15.3	82.2	2.1	(69)

*Tests and questionnaires administered to 6th grade pupils.
**Tests and questionnaires administered to sample of 12th grade pupils.

TABLE 4.1.27

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, STAMFORD PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1966-1967

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	OTHER
ELEMENTARY					
Rice	555	79.5	6.3	13.7	(3)
Ryle	399	62.9	31.8	4.8	(2)
Stevens	1,039	55.5	28.8	15.3	(4)
Hart	459	39.9	55.6	3.9	(3)
Westover	702	22.8	73.1	3.6	(4)
Rogers	940	20.4	76.0	3.0	(6)
Franklin	377	18.0	79.6	1.3	(4)
Stark	777	6.7	91.8	0.9	(5)
Willard	647	6.2	91.8	0.8	(8)
Roxbury	1,020	4.8	94.7	0.4	(1)
Glenbrook	188	4.8	94.7	0.5	-
Newfield	766	3.9	95.7	0.3	(1)
Springdale	1,024	3.6	95.5	0.6	(3)
Northeast	1,163	3.1	96.6	0.2	(1)
Belltown	349	2.0	98.0	-	-
Murphy	686	1.2	98.4	0.4	-
Riverbank	778	0.4	98.8	0.4	(3)
Total	11,869	18.1	78.5	3.1	(48)
JUNIOR HIGH					
9th Grade in H.S.	209	56.0	37.8	5.3	(2)
Burdick	899	26.3	69.0	4.7	(1)
Woodside	363	14.9	82.4	2.5	(1)
Rogers	590	10.8	88.5	0.3	(2)
Dolan	959	7.2	92.0	0.4	(4)
Turn of River	1,120	5.0	94.5	0.4	(2)
Total	4,140	14.4	83.6	1.7	(12)
SENIOR HIGH					
Rippowam	1,548	12.3	86.4	0.9	(6)
Stamford	1,685	11.3	86.6	1.2	(15)
Total	3,233	11.8	86.5	1.1	(21)
Home Inst.	20	10.0	90.0	-	-
GRAND TOTAL	19,262	16.2	80.9	2.4	(81)

TABLE 4.1.28

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, STAMFORD PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1967-1968

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	OTHER
ELEMENTARY					
Rice	609	79.0	7.1	13.8	(1)
Ryle	382	68.8	26.4	4.7	-
Stevens	1,108	58.6	26.1	15.3	(1)
Hart	426	39.2	53.5	5.9	(6)
Westover	711	26.3	68.5	4.4	(6)
Franklin	374	24.3	72.5	1.9	(5)
Rogers	935	20.7	75.5	3.1	(6)
Stark	818	7.3	91.7	0.9	(1)
Willard	646	5.7	92.4	0.8	(7)
Newfield	768	4.5	95.1	0.4	-
Roxbury	1,054	4.1	95.1	0.4	(5)
Northeast	1,207	3.6	95.6	0.6	(3)
Springdale	1,084	3.3	95.4	1.0	(3)
Glenbrook	185	2.7	95.7	1.1	(1)
Belltown	360	2.2	96.4	0.8	(2)
Murphy	700	1.1	98.3	0.1	(3)
Riverbank	839	0.5	99.2	0.1	(2)
Home Inst.	9	-	100.0	-	-
Total	12,215	18.9	77.3	3.3	(52)
JUNIOR HIGH					
Cloonan	1,035	22.8	73.6	3.4	(2)
Burdick	776	22.7	72.7	4.3	(3)
Rogers	539	10.9	87.9	0.7	(2)
Dolan	913	9.2	89.5	1.0	(3)
Turn of River	1,106	9.2	89.8	0.8	(2)
Home Inst.	6	16.7	83.3	-	-
Total	4,375	15.0	82.6	2.1	(12)
SENIOR HIGH					
Rippowam	1,668	12.9	85.4	1.4	(6)
Stamford	1,866	10.8	87.2	1.3	(11)
Home Inst.	7	42.9	57.1	-	-
Total	3,541	11.9	86.3	1.4	(17)
GRAND TOTAL	20,131	16.8	80.1	2.7	(81)
Pre-Kindergarten	135	80.0	7.4	12.6	-

TABLE 4.1.29

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, WATERBURY PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1963-1964

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN
ELEMENTARY				
Wilson	586	85.3	6.1	8.5
Bishop	298	79.2	15.1	5.7
Walsh	840	63.8	33.2	3.0
Slocum	574	37.8	61.0	1.2
Driggs	752	36.7	50.9	12.4
Webster	614	32.8	66.6	0.5
Duggan	294	13.3	84.4	2.4
Washington	425	8.7	88.7	2.6
Merriman	386	4.7	76.2	19.2
Russell	377	4.0	96.0	-
Cross	395	3.5	96.5	-
Hendricksen	150	3.3	94.6	2.1
Barnard	347	3.1	95.7	1.2
Kingsbury	466	3.0	97.0	-
Abbott	305	2.6	97.4	-
Tinker	571	2.1	97.9	-
Bucks Hill	866	1.8	97.5	0.7
Anderson	296	1.7	98.3	-
Hopeville	526	1.5	98.3	0.2
Chase	860	1.0	99.0	-
Sprague	786	0.9	99.1	-
Bunker Hill	804	0.2	99.8	-
East Farms	490	-	99.6	0.4
Gilmartin	205	-	100.0	-
Maloney	270	-	55.5	44.5
Roosevelt	58	-	100.0	-
Total	12,541	17.4	79.2	3.4
HIGH SCHOOLS				
Crosby	1,501	15.4	84.5	0.1
Croft	1,490	5.1	93.0	1.9
Wilby	1,500	4.1	93.9	2.0
Total	4,491	8.2	90.5	1.3
GRAND TOTAL	17,032	15.0	82.2	2.8

TABLE 4.1.30

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, WATERBURY PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1965-1966

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	OTHER
ELEMENTARY					
Wilson*	589	87.9	3.2	8.8	-
Bishop	276	83.3	12.0	4.7	-
Walsh*	892	65.4	29.4	5.3	-
Driggs	810	44.3	44.2	11.5	-
Slocum	578	41.7	56.7	1.6	-
Webster*	605	39.7	59.3	1.0	-
Duggan*	314	18.2	77.7	4.1	-
Russell*	391	8.2	91.8	-	-
Hendricksen	180	6.7	89.4	3.9	-
Merriman	416	6.3	58.9	34.9	-
Washington	380	3.4	92.1	4.5	-
Kingsbury*	517	3.1	96.5	0.4	-
Tinker*	590	3.0	96.6	0.3	-
Abbott	318	2.5	97.5	-	-
Bucks Hill	942	2.1	97.9	-	-
Hopeville	536	2.0	97.2	0.7	-
Anderson	291	1.7	98.3	-	-
Cross	403	1.7	98.3	-	-
Barnard	355	1.1	98.6	0.3	-
Chase	876	1.1	98.6	0.2	-
Sprague	812	1.0	99.0	-	-
Bunker Hill	900	0.6	99.1	-	(3)
Maloney	301	-	49.2	50.8	-
East Farms	517	-	99.6	0.4	-
Gilmartin	206	-	100.0	-	-
Roosevelt	37	-	100.0	-	-
Total	13,032	18.6	77.0	4.4	(3)
HIGH SCHOOLS					
Crosby**	1,525	11.1	88.0	0.9	-
Wilby**	1,473	10.2	88.5	1.4	-
Kennedy**	1,692	7.9	90.8	1.3	-
Total	4,690	9.7	89.2	1.2	-
GRAND TOTAL	17,722	16.2	80.2	3.5	(3)

*Tests and questionnaires administered to 6th grade pupils.

**Tests and questionnaires administered to sample of 12th grade pupils.

TABLE 4.1.31

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, WATERBURY PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1966-1967

(Percent)

	TOTAL	NEGRO	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	OTHER
ELEMENTARY					
Wilson	586	89.6	2.8	7.6	-
Bishop	308	85.1	10.4	4.5	-
Walsh	734	68.8	24.4	6.1	(5)
Driggs	759	46.5	43.4	10.1	-
Slocum	597	45.1	52.3	2.2	(3)
Webster	621	42.7	55.6	1.8	-
Duggan	298	26.8	66.8	6.0	(1)
Hendricksen	251	19.5	78.1	2.4	-
Russell	394	10.4	87.3	2.3	-
Maloney	392	6.6	41.1	51.3	(4)
Merriman	410	6.6	59.1	34.3	-
Bucks Hill	967	5.7	94.0	0.3	-
Washington	376	4.5	86.7	8.0	(3)
Tinker	589	3.9	95.2	0.3	(3)
Kingsbury	517	3.5	95.9	0.6	-
Barnard	341	3.2	96.5	0.3	-
Hopeville	552	2.4	96.7	0.9	-
Abbott	302	2.3	97.7	-	-
Sprague	826	2.2	97.6	-	(2)
Anderson	300	1.7	98.0	-	(1)
Chase	891	1.5	98.1	0.4	-
Cross	412	1.2	98.8	-	-
Bunker Hill	730	0.7	98.9	-	(3)
East Farms	541	-	98.9	0.4	(4)
Carrington	220	-	100.0	-	-
Gilmartin	200	-	100.0	-	-
Total	13,114	19.8	75.2	4.8	(29)
HIGH SCHOOLS					
Wilby High	1,407	12.8	86.0	1.2	-
Crosby High	1,533	9.8	89.1	1.1	-
Kennedy High	1,660	8.6	89.7	1.4	(5)
Total	4,600	10.3	88.4	1.2	(5)
GRAND TOTAL	17,714	17.3	78.7	3.9	(34)

APPENDIX B

INTER-CITY AND REGIONAL COMPARISONS OF SCHOOL SEGREGATION INDEXES - 1965

TABLE 4.1.32

PERCENT OF NEGRO PUPILS, AND SEGREGATION INDEXES OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY, JUNIOR HIGH, AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN SELECTED CITIES BY REGIONS, 1965

CITIES WITH POPULATION OF 50,000 - 99,999

		(I) PERCENT NONWHITE POPULATION 1960	(II) RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION INDEX 1960	(III) PERCENT NEGRO PUPILS 1965			(IV) SCHOOL SEGREGATION INDEXES 1965		
				ELEM.	J.H.	S.H.	ELEM.	J.H.	S.H.
NORTHEAST AND MIDDLE ATLANTIC									
Chester	Penna.	33	87	69	67	59	76	58	B
Mt. Vernon	N.Y.	20	73	49	44	33	70	72	7
Harrisburg	Penna.	19	86	45	42	37	73	20	11
New Rochelle	N.Y.	14	80	18	16	12	38	2*	B
White Plains	N.Y.	12	79	19	17	14	11	6	B
York	Penna.	9	78	19	17	17	39	42	B
NORWALK	CONN.	8	C	14*	14*	15*	23*	15*	14*
STAMFORD	CONN.	8	78	17	14	12	71	60	5
Union	N.J.	6	C	12	9	7	73	47	B
Lower Merion	Penna.	5	C	5	3	2	66	56	16
Lancaster	Penna.	4	C	11	10	6	78	78	B
NEW BRITAIN	CONN.	3	C	7	6	5	48	10	14
Schenectady	N.Y.	3	C	6	6	4	46	44	9
Brockton	Mass.	2	C	4	2	1	67	45	2
SOUTH									
Charleston	S.C.	51	80	87	D	74	99	D	98
Durham	N.C.	36	93	55*	52*	49*	91*	87*	91*

TABLE 4.1.32 - Continued

		(I) PERCENT NONWHITE POPULATION 1960	(II) RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION INDEX 1960	(III) PERCENT NEGRO PUPILS 1965			(IV) SCHOOL SEGREGATION INDEXES 1965		
				ELEM.	J.H.	S.H.	ELEM.	J.H.	S.H.
Galveston	Texas	28	83	40	30	42	78	81	94
Lexington	Ky.	26	C	48	-	35(F)	63	-	80(F)
Fort Lauderdale	Fla.	24	98	29*	6*	30*	99*	19*	86*
N. Little Rock	Ark.	23	94	24	-	21(F)	96	-	97(F)
Lynchburg	Va.	20	84	26	53	19	88	97	91
Roanoke	Va.	17	94	25	24	20	93	70	94
Midland	Texas	10	93	11	-	10(F)	99	-	83(F)
Odessa	Texas	6	98	7	-	5(F)	88	-	96(F)
Huntington	W. Va.	6	89	9*	5*	4*	84*	72*	66*
MIDDLE WEST									
East St. Louis	Ill.	45	92	68*	61*	60*	84*	67*	48*
Saginaw	Mich.	17	88	36	28	15	93	84	56
Evanston	Ill.	12	87	20	21	C	67	18	C
Lawton	Okla.	12	C	12	12	12	82	25	60
Decatur	Ill.	8	88	14	14	8	48	34	34
Ann Arbor	Mich.	7	64	7	6	6	48	30	B
Joliet	Ill.	7	90	22	20	C	81	58	C
Hamilton	Ohio	6	92	23*	15*	16*	74*	52*	41*
Racine	Wis.	5	88	13	9	6	80	57	24
Rock Island	Ill.	5	C	12	12	8	81	50	B
FAR WEST									
Richmond	Calif.	22	77	24*	22*	20*	87*	52*	44*
Stockton	Calif.	16	71	14	13	10	84	69	59

NOTE: Within each region, cities are arranged in descending order of nonwhite percent of population in 1960.
KEY: (*) 1966; (B) only one school; (C) data not available; (D) no junior high schools; (F) total secondary.

TABLE 4.1.33

PERCENT OF NEGRO PUPILS, AND SEGREGATION INDEXES OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY, JUNIOR HIGH, AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN SELECTED CITIES BY REGIONS, 1965

CITIES WITH POPULATION OF 100,000 - 249,000

		(I) PERCENT NONWHITE POPULATION 1960	(II) RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION INDEX 1960	(III) PERCENT NEGRO PUPILS 1965			(IV) SCHOOL SEGREGATION INDEXES 1965		
				ELEM.	J.H.	S.H.	ELEM.	J.H.	S.H.
NORTHEAST AND MIDDLE ATLANTIC									
Trenton	N.J.	23	80	64	57	40	60	48	B
HARTFORD	CONN.	16	82	43	D	32	69	D	38
NEW HAVEN	CONN.	15	71	46	42	31	59	32	1
Paterson	N.J.	15	76	44*	D	18*	58*	D	3*
BRIDGEPORT	CONN.	10	70	30	D	20	59	D	6
Springfield	Mass.	8	C	19	17	12	59	12	12
WATERBURY	CONN.	7	80	19	D	10	76	D	7
Cambridge	Mass.	6	66	16	D	14	39	D	12
New Bedford	Mass.	3	C	11	10	9	63	32	B
Worcester	Mass.	1	C	3	2	2	67	14	29
SOUTH									
Nashville	Tenn.	38	92	24	37	14	89	97	95
Chattanooga	Tenn.	33	92	47	48	43	93	94	100
Beaumont	Texas	29	92	41*	37*	34*	94	84	88
Charlotte	N.C.	28	94	31	18	27	96	92	88
Greensboro	N.C.	26	93	29	31	28	96	98	91
Little Rock	Ark.	24	89	36	30	25	96	94	78
Knoxville	Tenn.	19	91	14	39	9	88	94	74

TABLE 4.1.33 - Continued

		(I) PERCENT NONWHITE POPULATION 1960	(II) RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION INDEX 1960	(III) PERCENT NEGRO PUPILS 1965			(IV) SCHOOL SEGREGATION INDEXES 1965		
				ELEM.	J.H.	S.H.	ELEM.	J.H.	S.H.
MIDDLE WEST									
Grand Rapids	Mich.	8	90	20*	4*	21*	90*	60*	54*
Fort Wayne	Ind.	7	92	14	11	10	84	78	81
Evansville	Ind.	7	91	8	D	7	75	D	56
Lincoln	Neb.	2	C	3	2	2	71	66	51
FAR WEST									
Berkeley	Calif.	26	69	40	41	41	73	7	7
Sacramento	Calif.	13	64	14	11	9	63	38	30
Fresno	Calif.	10	84	8	5	8	95	89	90

NOTE: Within each region, cities are arranged in descending order of nonwhite percent of population in 1960.

KEY: (*) 1966; (B) only one school; (C) data not available; (D) no junior high schools

TABLE 4.1.34

PERCENT OF NEGRO PUPILS, AND SEGREGATION INDEXES OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY, JUNIOR HIGH, AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN SELECTED CITIES BY REGIONS, 1965

CITIES WITH POPULATION OF 250,000 - 499,999

		(I) PERCENT NONWHITE POPULATION 1960	(II) RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION INDEX 1960	(III) PERCENT NEGRO PUPILS 1965			(IV) SCHOOL SEGREGATION INDEXES 1965		
				ELEM.	J.H.	S.H.	ELEM.	J.H.	S.H.
SOUTH									
Norfolk	Va.	26	95	41*	45*	33*	91*	85*	71*
Miami	Fla.	23	98	27	14	22	95	87	87
Louisville	Ky.	18	89	45	42	35	77	66	62
MIDDLE WEST									
Kansas City	Mo.	18	91	42	37	37	81	87	81
Oklahoma City	Okla.	13	87	18	-	15(F)	96	-	87(F)
Wichita	Kan.	8	92	13	11	8	92	78	52
Minneapolis	Minn.	3	79	7	6	4	75	76	55
St. Paul	Minn.	3	87	6*	7*	3*	85*	71*	64*
FAR WEST									
Portland	Ore.	6	77	8	D	6	75	D	50

NOTE: Within each region, cities are arranged in descending order of nonwhite percent of population in 1960.

KEY: (*) 1966;(D) no junior high schools; (F) total secondary.

TABLE 4.1.35

PERCENT OF NEGRO PUPILS, AND SEGREGATION INDEXES OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY, JUNIOR HIGH, AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN SELECTED CITIES BY REGIONS, 1965

CITIES WITH POPULATION OF 500,000 OR MORE

		(I) PERCENT NONWHITE POPULATION 1960	(II) RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION INDEX 1960	(III) PERCENT NEGRO PUPILS 1965			(IV) SCHOOL SEGREGATION INDEXES 1965		
				ELEM.	J.H.	S.H.	ELEM.	J.H.	S.H.
NORTHEAST AND MIDDLE ATLANTIC									
Philadelphia	Penna.	27	87	59	60	48	79	68	66
Boston	Mass.	10	84	29	24	17	76	68	48
SOUTH									
Washington	D.C.	55	80	91	89	85	78	74	72
New Orleans	La.	37	86	67	60	50	98	100	100
Baltimore	Md.	35	90	64	-	56(F)	87	-	75(F)
MIDDLE WEST									
Detroit	Mich.	29	85	57	53	46	80	73	68
St. Louis	Mo.	29	91	63	D	50	91	D	80
Cincinnati	Ohio	22	89	40	-	38(F)	72	-	72(F)
FAR WEST									
San Francisco	Calif.	18	69	29	25	19	71	50	30
Los Angeles	Calif.	17	82	23*	20*	17*	92*	87*	86*
Seattle	Wash.	8	80	10	8	7	85	75	74

NOTE: Within each region, cities are arranged in descending order of nonwhite percent of population in 1960.

KEY: (*) 1966; (D) no junior high schools; (F) total secondary.

REFERENCES

Allen, Irving L., J. David Colfax, and Henry G. Stetler
1965 Metropolitan Connecticut: A Demographic Profile. Storrs, Connecticut: The University of Connecticut, Institute of Urban Research.

Farley, Reynolds, and Karl E. Taeuber
1968 "Population Trends and Residential Segregation Since 1960." Science 159(March 1):953-956.

Grier, Eunice, and George Grier
1961 The Impact of Race on Neighborhood in the Metropolitan Setting. Washington, D. C.: Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies.

Taeuber, Karl E.
1964 "Negro Residential Segregation: Trends and Measurement." Social Problems 12(Summer):42-50.
1965 "Residential Segregation." Scientific American 213(August):17.

Taeuber, Karl E., and Alma F. Taeuber
1965 Negroes in Cities. Chicago, Illinois: Aldine Publishing Company.

U. S. Bureau of the Census. U. S. Census of Population:1960
1963 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, PC(3)-ID. Washington D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office.

United States Commission on Civil Rights
1967 Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, Volume I. Washington D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office.

Walker, Dollie, Arthur L. Stinchcombe, and Mary S. McDill
1967 School Desegregation in Baltimore. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University, The Center for the Study of Social Organization of Schools.

PART V

SUMMARY

SUMMARY

The Issue of Integration Transformed

In 1965 the Negro civil rights movement in the United States was moribund, a victim of many forces, ranging from white resistance to the allocation of national resources and energies to the Vietnam war. Out of the failures and successes of the nonviolent civil rights movement of the late fifties and early sixties emerged a force that was to transform the consciousness, tactics, and goals of black Americans. The issues were to be framed in terms of black separatism, black consciousness, and, above all, black control. The failures of the fifties and sixties gave the new black movement renewed force and relevance for Negroes. The integrationist goals of generations of black leaders were being challenged by nationalist and separatist leaders. Integrationist efforts toward housing and school integration were being replaced by demands for black autonomy and control. At the end of the decade the integrationist theme has been absorbed into the ascendant nationalist-separatist mainstream. Nostalgia for the non-violent integrationist activities may be found among whites of various persuasions as well as many Negroes. Black leaders with traditional ties and access to the white community were understandably reluctant to acknowledge the failures of the integrationist efforts of a century that had reached an apogee in the middle-sixties. Among younger black leaders, however, the integrationist ideal had lost its validity in the streets of Selma, for others the violent reaction of the white officials to the riots of 1967 and the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. clearly drew the line between black and white America. Tokenism in the name of integration had been replaced by separatism in the name of black power. The goals of the early part of the decade were no longer merely out of reach; from the perspective of the new black community they were now discredited and unworthy of interest.

This report documents some of the underlying reasons for the change in the emphasis of the new black movement. It presents surveys planned in 1964-65 and carried out in 1966-67, when the full force of the black transformation had not yet become obvious. Moreover, most Negroes in the five cities where the research was conducted were not then nor are they now in the vanguard of the black movement. Nevertheless, riots in these cities in 1967, various forms of school disturbances, and the harassment of black militants by local officials are symptomatic of the tensions and dislocations created in the context of integrationist policies. In this retrospect, none of the five cities studied--Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, Stamford, and Waterbury--provide models that are truly worthy of emulation in any major institutional area--in housing, education, employment, or anti-poverty programs. For the most part these programs have failed to come to grips with the often unique and endemic problems of the inner-city Negro. The popular argument that the limited economic and manpower resources of city government seriously hinder its ability to deal more effectively with the problems of inner-city minorities begs the question: the middle-sized city has shown a remarkable ability to deal with problems which touch directly upon the interests of some segments, but a notable lack of responsiveness in the areas of ghetto education and low-income housing. Why, then, the record of failure? In these summary pages we shall attempt to suggest some answers.

The Newcomers

Connecticut's metropolitan central cities, like middle-sized cities throughout the nation, experienced large increases in their black populations in the 1950-60 decade, trends which continued well into the 1960's. For the most part, these new arrivals, unlike their white counterparts, were predominantly rural and Southern in origin. For example, eighty-five percent of Bridgeport black adults were born in the South; in contrast, half of its adult white residents had been born in New England. Similarly, half of the adult Negroes had been born in towns with populations of less than 10,000, compared with less than a quarter of white adults. Moreover, most black migrants had spent little time in areas outside the South prior to their move to Connecticut: half of New Haven's, and nearly two-thirds of Hartford's and Waterbury's adult Negroes had lived in the South prior to moving to their present city of residence.

Two-thirds of all central city families lived in rented quarters, but whites were from two to four times more likely than Negroes to own their homes. Forty-seven percent of Waterbury families owned their own homes, for example, but only fifteen percent of the city's Negroes were homeowners.

Responses to Urban Decay and Racial Discrimination

The neighborhoods in which homes were located were more satisfactory to whites than to Negroes. There were about as many whites (60 percent) who said that they were satisfied with their present neighborhood as there were Negroes who said they were dissatisfied. White dissatisfaction with neighborhoods centered around "pull" factors--suburban amenities and the like whereas, "push" factors--social and physical deterioration of neighborhoods and the need for better housing--characterized Negro responses.

Over eighty percent of black respondents said they would prefer to live in a racially mixed neighborhood, the ideal mix being a third to one-half black. Moreover, the experiences of inner-city Negroes with housing discrimination vary widely from city to city. Slightly less than half of Bridgeport and Waterbury Negroes said they had trouble finding a place to live because of their race, whereas slightly over a quarter of Hartford and New Haven residents had similar experiences. The key factor was landlord or owner discrimination. For example, fully 94 percent of Bridgeport Negroes who had experienced discrimination attributed it to a refusal to rent to Negroes. High rents and the lack of adequate housing were believed by Negroes to be second-ranking sources of discrimination in New Haven and Hartford.

Discrimination was seen by most Negroes as having substantive costs in other areas as well: from 45 percent of Negroes in Waterbury, to 60 percent of Hartford and New Haven Negroes said that they believed that city Negroes "can't get ahead as fast as other people." And one out of every six Negroes said that they had experienced trouble getting or keeping a job because of their race.

What is the nature of the response to these conditions? Approximately three-quarters of all whites, and two-thirds of black respondents expressed the view that various religious, social and ethnic groups "get along pretty well" in their cities; but over one-quarter of whites said that over the last five years relationships between blacks and whites had deteriorated. Interestingly, Negro perceptions of the course of face relations varied widely from city to city. Over 40 percent of Hartford and Waterbury Negroes said that relations between white and Negroes in the city had improved; in New Haven one-third felt this way, and in Bridgeport only one quarter expressed this view. Only from five percent (Bridgeport) to 14 percent (Waterbury) of Negroes said that relations between whites and Negroes in the cities had worsened over the previous five-year period. In this context it should be noted, however, that the period to which the question referred--the early sixties--was an era of exceptional hope, in contrast with the years after Watts.

Civil Rights Activities

Demands for changes in traditional patterns of black-white relations took different forms in each of the cities--and so did the expressed level of interest in each. Only a third of Bridgeport Negroes, compared with a high of 60 percent in Waterbury, said they were "very interested" in civil rights activities in their cities. Perceptions of community-wide interest similarly varied rather widely from city to city: only 12 percent of Bridgeport Negroes said that they felt that other Negroes in the city were "very interested" in local civil rights activities, in contrast with fully 40 percent of Waterbury Negroes who said the same.

Waterbury was similarly the site of more extensive civil rights activities over the period examined: fully 35 percent said that they had taken part in various civil rights activities over the previous two or three years. Comparable proportions were 12 and 14 percent in Bridgeport and New Haven, and 23 percent in Hartford. The most frequently mentioned type of civil rights participation was attendance at rallies followed by financial support and organizational activities. Only a small fraction--less than 10 percent--of those who had been active at any level had picketed or written letters to public officials. Only a quarter of the Negroes said that they would picket a store that discriminates against Negroes if a friend asked them to do so; but fully 80 percent said that they would participate at some level if asked to do so.

Educational Perspectives: Respect, Apathy, and Resistance

Perhaps the single most important institution which divides the inner-city Negro from the white is that of education. The black newcomer is younger, at an earlier stage in the family cycle, a renter, and likely has children in de facto segregated public schools. The white is older, more often in the later stages of the family cycle, more often a homeowner-taxpayer, and more often to have enrolled his children in parochial schools.

Whites and Negroes nonetheless similarly have high regard for the importance of education: over half of both black and white respondents believe that a college degree is necessary "to get along well in the world," and barely one percent expressed the view that one could succeed with less than twelve years of education. Whites were somewhat more confident than Negroes that initiative and hard work could compensate for formal educational deficiencies, thus indicating the greater felt importance of educational credentials among black respondents. Two-thirds of black and white parents alike express the hope that their children will graduate from college; white parents, however, are more likely than Negroes to express the hope that their children will attend a graduate or professional school.

Despite the expressed importance of education, most residents admit that they are poorly informed about the operations of the public schools. The inner-city school, according to most professional educators, officials, and critics, is in a crisis state; yet upwards of 60 percent of residents admit they are "not very informed" about their schools. In Waterbury, where education has been at the center of a number of acrimonious controversies over the last decade, is where the largest proportion of informed respondents is found. Only in Hartford, which has had the most segregated school system of the four cities studied, does a larger proportion of Negroes than whites consider themselves informed about what goes on in the local school system. The Waterbury and Hartford examples thus indicate that public interest in the local school system can be differentially a function of controversy and special group interest.

Approximately one-third of those interviewed had children of school age. From 23 to 33 percent (Hartford and Waterbury) of white parents had all of their school-age children enrolled in parochial and private schools. In contrast, between 90 and 100 percent of black families had all of their school-age children in public schools.

Fully three-quarters of the black children in Hartford's public schools attended schools in which more than half the pupils were Negro; in contrast, fully 55 percent of whites attended schools in which fewer than 10 percent were Negro. The extent of de facto segregation was far less extreme in New Haven: although two-thirds of black children attended school in which more than half the pupils were Negro, less than a quarter of white pupils attended school in which fewer than 10 percent of the pupils were Negro. In this context it should be noted that Hartford and New Haven, unlike Bridgeport and Waterbury, have black populations of roughly equal size, as well as equal proportions of school-age pupils in the public schools; the outcomes, in terms of social composition of the schools, are quite different, however.

Perhaps the key symbol of white resistance to programs intended to integrate public schools has been the so-called "neighborhood" school. The advantages of the neighborhood schools were vaguely expressed by most respondents. There was little in the way of a coherent ideology surrounding the neighborhood school idea. However, when asked to cite the major disadvantages of the neighborhood school, black parents were significantly more critical than whites: issues such as lower quality education in the ghetto, limited contacts with other races and social groupings, and the perpetuation of de facto racial segregation found expression by black parents.

In 1966 two of the four cities--Hartford and New Haven--were in the process of implementing programs designed to bus a small number of ghetto children to schools in the suburbs. These were viewed by both Negroes and whites as efforts to improve Negro education; few person, black or white, regarded these as compromise efforts, despite the fact that within-city efforts toward desegregation in Hartford had been remarkably unproductive during the early and middle sixties. A majority of Negroes in both cities said they thought the idea was a good one; whites were considerably less favorable, however, since these programs were regarded as having been developed in response to pressure from the black community and civil rights groups.

White resistance to efforts at eliminating school segregation were even more pronounced when opinions about various within-city proposals were elicited. A majority of whites in every city opposed the idea of open-enrollment, whereas Negroes generally supported it. An even larger proportion (two-thirds) of whites were opposed to the idea of bussing Negro children to schools in predominantly white neighborhoods, while nearly three out of four were opposed to cross-bussing proposals.

Yet in the overall context of black community problems, education did not appear to be as crucial an item to Negroes as might have been expected. In each of the four cities, Negroes ranked housing as the most important problem; Hartford Negroes expressed greater concern about crime than about education. Whites expressed concern about juvenile delinquency, taxes, and, in New Haven, housing, with education ranking as low as fifth in Bridgeport, and as high as second in New Haven.

Within the black community, the top-ranking problem was again housing followed by community organizing, and the lack of job opportunities. Only in Hartford, where 19 percent of Negroes mentioned school segregation and poor schools, was education ranked as a major problem facing the local black community. Nor were general community or black leaders perceived as being greatly concerned about education problems: housing, taxes, and urban renewal were seen as their major concerns.

In short, then, although the educational structure in the four cities was marked by de facto school segregation and deteriorated school facilities, the low levels of interest in the schools and the lack of responsibility in the cities on the part of Negroes and whites alike appeared to ensure the perpetuation of such conditions. While respecting education in the abstract, the latent and sometimes overt resistance of white residents to small efforts at desegregation played its part; so too did the apathy of the black community. With significant educational innovation blocked by a hostile white majority, a lack of meaningful interest on the part of the civic elite (see below), and endemic needs in other areas, it is not surprising nor inappropriate that education in the ghetto is given a lower priority in the hierarchy of community needs.

The Failure of Leadership

Given the combination of forces which operate in concert against the emergence of major educational innovation in the cities studied, it would appear that a concerned civic elite might be agents for bringing about changes against which public opinion, apathy, and hostility conspire to prevent. Yet the middle-sized cities under study in Part II do not show that this does in fact occur, for a number of compelling reasons.

The analysis of community leadership brought a fifth city, Stamford, under examination. Of the five, it stands as the only one in which a significant and broad-based attack on school segregation has been successfully carried out. Significantly, however, this action resulted not from the efforts of variously designated "community leaders." Rather, the mobilization of upper middle-class professionals and executives, whose involvement in community affairs tended to be highly specialized, resulted in a series of policy decisions which prevented a set of nascent educational problems from becoming greatly exacerbated. Significantly, this same group, pursuing its narrower interests, did not become deeply involved in a later low-income housing controversy, which ultimately acquired the proportions of a full-scale rancorous community controversy.

In each of the other four cities, however, an involved, articulate middle class was conspicuous by its absence. An analysis of community leadership patterns indicates that although there are some significant differences from city to city in terms of the institutional affiliation of reputed community leaders, top leaders are, for the most part, business and industrial leaders who are of local origin, Protestant, without children in the inner-city schools, and residents of the suburbs which surround the cities in which they enjoy a reputation for leadership.

Their expressed lack of awareness of educational problems, particularly as these intersect with racial issues, is only partially off-set by the educational and welfare elite which frequently finds itself unable to transcend its own bureaucratic-professional position, much less to exert significant pressure upon the corporate elite. Often this elite functions as an absentee group without a constituency, and shows greater interest in an ability to carry out civic projects which are status-enhancing, if not otherwise rewarding. Education and race issues, at least in the middle-sized city, provide little of either.

Thus education remains a low-priority item--esteemed but not budgeted, revered but not improved. Occasionally--in response to outside pressures such as civil rights organizations (e.g., Bridgeport and Hartford), educational associations (Waterbury), or federal program requirements (New Haven), educational changes do take place. But for the vast majority of black youth in the ghetto, outdated facilities, irrelevant curriculum, and bureaucratic rigidity are the dominant features of the educational landscape. It is a topography perpetuated at least in part by a civic elite, which is better at expressing concern than in carrying out the changes its rhetoric demands.

Outcomes: Segregation, Aspirations, and Performances

Part III reports the surveys of sixth and twelfth grade pupils and a survey of teachers. Teachers in variously segregated schools have roughly similar personal backgrounds, yet teachers in segregated schools tend to "label" their pupils more readily. Similarly, they tend to be anti-innovative and tend to be supportive of traditional institutions such as neighborhood schools.

Performances of sixth and twelfth graders on a standard I.Q. test (Henmon-Nelson) show some significant differences. Among the sixth graders tested, whites had an average score of 102, compared with 91 for Negroes. The white-black gap is even larger among twelfth-graders, with the white average at 104, and the black at 89. Similarly, nearly a quarter of white twelfth graders obtained scores of over 100, compared with only one percent of twelfth-grade Negroes. Significantly, with increased levels of school segregation, average I.Q. scores drop--but the change is greater among whites than among blacks.

A review of data relating to Negro and white differences in social mobility aspirations and life expectations indicates that the racial differential is not as large for these dimensions as it is in the area of performance (i.e., on the Henmon-Nelson test). Nevertheless, black pupils express a lower sense of self-esteem, in terms of intelligence, life chances, and the likelihood of obtaining suitable employment. In general, however, these differences are not great; rather, they are illustrative of the waste of human resources which, in an additive fashion have created a sense of alienation from institutions which clearly are not repressive.

This is the outcome of a process which ranges from public apathy and hostility, through community leader's ineffectiveness and unconcern, to the attitudes of teachers and other educators in a society largely indifferent to the problems of the black community.

APPENDIX

PUBLICATIONS AS OF DECEMBER, 1968

Allen, Irving L., Colfax, J. David, and Stetler, Henry G. Metropolitan Connecticut: A Demographic Profile. Storrs, Connecticut: Institute of Urban Research, 1965, *v* + 79 pp.

Allen, Irving L. and Colfax, J. David. Urban Sample Survey Field Procedures: Materials and Strategies. Storrs, Connecticut: Institute of Urban Research, 1967, *v* + 108 pp.

Allen, Irving L. and Colfax, J. David. The Inner City in Crisis: The Case of Connecticut. Report to the Connecticut Research Commission, Hartford, Connecticut, September 30, 1968. Storrs, Connecticut: The University of Connecticut, 250 pp.

Allen, Irving L. and Colfax, J. David. "Respondents' Attitudes Toward Legitimate Survey Research in Four Cities." Journal of Marketing Research, 5 (November, 1968), pp. 431-433.

Allen, Irving L. and Colfax, J. David. Urban Problems and Public Opinion in Four Connecticut Cities. Storrs, Connecticut: Institute of Urban Research, 1968, *ix* + 188 pp.

Allen, Irving L. "Selecting an Economic Probability Sample of Negro Households in a City." Forthcoming in Journal of Negro Education, Winter or Spring, 1969 issue.

Allen, Irving L. "Mass Communication and the Urban Integration Hypothesis." Mimeographed, forthcoming.

Boland, Walter R. De Facto School Segregation and the Student: A Study of the Schools in Connecticut's Five Major Cities. Storrs, Connecticut: Institute of Urban Research, 1969, forthcoming, *xxiv* + 336 pp.

Chai, Yong-Wha. "An Evaluation of Reputation as an Index of Political Leadership." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1968.

Colfax, J. David and Allen, Irving L. "Precoded Versus Open-Ended Items and Children's Reports of Fathers' Occupation." Sociology of Education 40 (Winter, 1967), pp. 96-98.

Colfax, J. David. "The Cognitive Self-Concept and School Segregation: Some Preliminary Findings." The Tragedy of the Disadvantaged: Imperatives for Education. Edited by William W. Brickman and Stanley Lehrer, forthcoming.

McCaghy, Charles H., Allen, Irving L., and Colfax, J. David. "Public Attitudes Toward the Police in a Middle-Sized Northern City." Criminologica 6 (May, 1968), pp. 14-22. A version of a paper read at the annual meetings of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, San Francisco, August 27, 1967.